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#### Citation Information

Snelgrave, William

A new account of some parts of Guinea, and the slave-trade [electronic resource]: containing, I. The history of the late conquest of the kingdom of Whidaw by the king of Dahomè ... II. The manner how the Negroes become slaves ... III. A relation of the author's being taken by pirates, and the many dangers he underwent / by Captain William Snelgrave

12 p. l., 288 p., [1] leaf of plates : map ; <math>21 cm.

Goldsmiths'-Kress no. 07204.

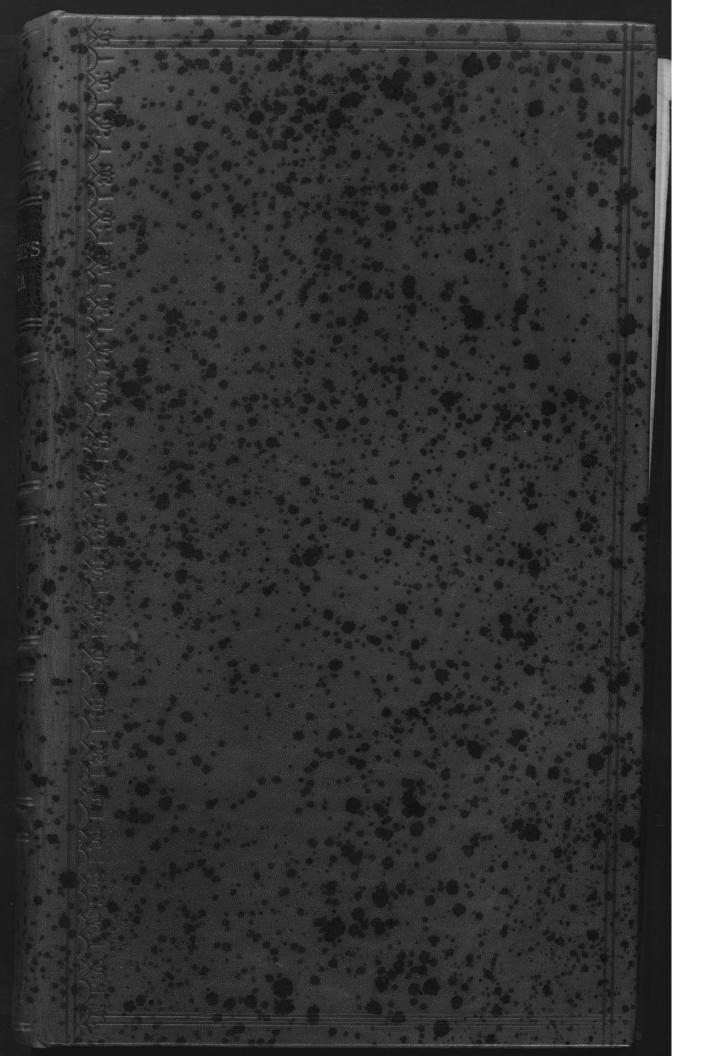
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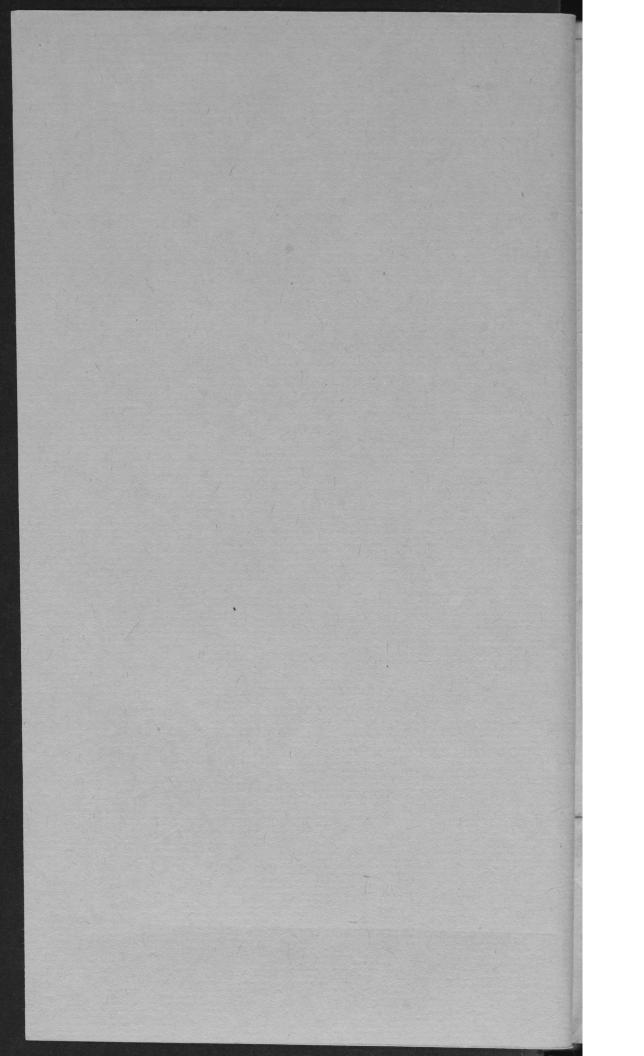
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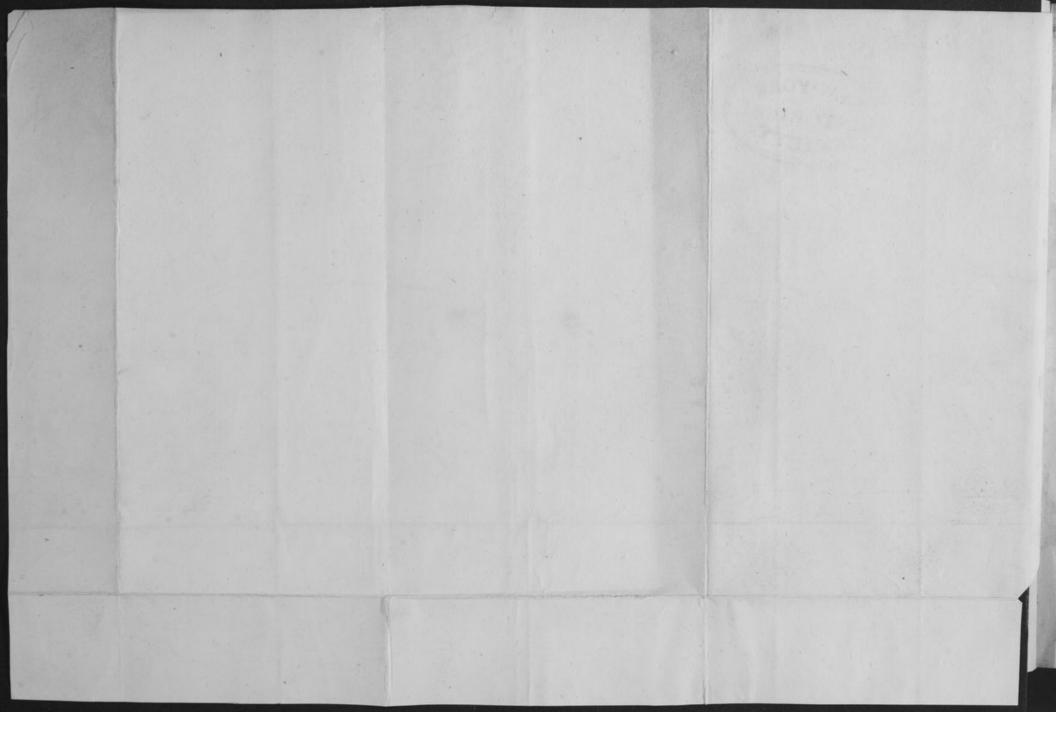
Date Rendered: 2021-03-23 03:45:16 AM UTC Available Online at: <a href="http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/rf55z8971">http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/rf55z8971</a>











# ACCOUNT

Of some Parts of W-YORK

# GUINSEORAGAI

# And the Slave-Trade

#### CONTAINING

I. The History of the late Conquest of the Kingdom of Whidaw by the King of Dahome. The Author's Journey to the Conqueror's Camp; where he saw several Captives facrificed, &c.

II. The manner how the Negroes become Slaves. The Numbers of them yearly exported from Guinea to America. The Lawfulness of that Trade. The Mutinies a mong them on board the Ships where the Author has been, &c.

III. A Relation of the Author's being taken by Pirates, and the many Dangers he underwent.

By Captain WILLIAM SNELGRAVE.

#### LONDON:

Printed for JAMES, JOHN, and PAUL KNAPTON, at the Crown in Ludgate-Street.

MDCCXXXIV.

# MERCHANTS

# LONDON,

Trading to the Coast of Guinea.

and to have received Fa

GENTLEMEN,

COME of you having Deen pleased to peruse the following Sheets in Manuscript, and been so kind, as to express your Approbation of them, it hath incouraged me to make them publick; and I take the Liberty to address them to the Mer-A 2 chants

# DEDICATION.

chants trading to the Coast of Guinea, as being the best Judges of the Truth of what is here related.

As it has been my good Fortune to be known for many Years to most of you, and to have received Favours from several amongst You, so I beg leave to subscribe my self, with the greatest Respect and E-steem, Gentlemen,

to addrefs them to the Mer-

Your most obliged

bumble Servant,

W. SNELGRAVE.

HE best part of the following Sheets were writ several Years ago, more particularly the Account of my being
taken by Pirates, in the Year 1719:
And being now induced to publish
the History of the Conquest of the
Kingdom of Dahomè, I have added
the other, which is as remarkable
in its kind.

I am sensible that Objections may be made to the Account I have given of the Dahomes, by such of my Readers as are not acquainted, either by Travelling or Reading, with the Manners and Customs of several barbarous brutish Nations, that have been and are still on the Globe.

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As

As to human Sacrifices, they are no new thing in the World; for it is recorded of the Mexicans in particular, that they annually facrificed to their Gods, a great number of their Enemies taken in War.

Mens eating of their own Species, feems to be the most incredible and shocking; but this is practifed by others at present (besides the Dahomes) on the Coast of Guinea; especially by a People called Acquas, on the River of old Callabar, and amongst the Camarones adjoining, where I have formerly been, and of which there are some Witnesses now in London: Captain Arthur Lone and others, having seen the same as well as my self.

As to the Story in general of the King of Dahome, there are some Gentlemen now in Town, that know a great part of it; namely, Jeremiah

miah Tinker Esq; Governor Wilfon, and others, who have formerly resided at Whidaw, for the Royal African Company: Besides several that have been there in the Service of private Merchants: As also Charles Dunbar Esq; of Antegoa, who bought the Negroe-Woman of me there, whose Story is so remarkable, on account of her being thrown as a Sacrifice into the Sea, and her wonderful Preservation afterwards, the Truth of which she has often confirmed.

As to the Relation of my being taken by Pirates, there are several in and about Town, that suffered by them, at the same time and place with my self. And Mr. James Bleau, who was then my Surgeon, lives now at Woodford, in good Repute and Esteem with the Gentlemen of that

Village and Neighbourhood.

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1 Shall

I shall say nothing with relation to the short Account I have given of the manner how the Negroes become Slaves, and of the Management of them when on Shipboard, it being designed at first only for a Friend's Satisfaction, who had objected against the lawfulness of that Trade.

As I love Freedom my self, so I

As I love Freedom my self, so I readily leave the Reader to judge and believe as he pleases, concerning what is here related: My principal motive for publishing these Sheets, being the Persuasion of some Friends, who had perused them in Manuscript, and thought they might prove acceptable to the Publick.

tent, beginning at Cape Verd, in 14 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and extending to the South and East, as far as the Coast of Angola; the River Congo, in 6 Degrees South Latitude, being the farthest place where the English carry on their Trade.

In this Country of Guinea, the English have trafficked a great many Years: But especially, since the Conclusion of the last French War, it has been so improved, that whereas in the Year 1712, there went only 33 Ships from England to that Coast, in 1726, it was proved before the Commissioners of Trade, that there had been there the Year before above 200 Sail, to the great increase of Navigation, and the

advantage of our Plantations in America.

Such as are unacquainted with this Country, may reasonably suppose we should have gained by this time a perfect account of the Inland-Parts; yet perhaps we know the least of it of any Country the English have so long traded to, for reasons I shall give hereafter. But as I design only to inform the Reader, (for his better understanding the following Sheets) in a cursory manner, of those parts of the Coast of Guinea, that I have been personally acquainted with: So, as I go along, I shall intermix my Reasons with the Account.

I have traded along this Coast for near 700 Leagues, from a River called Sherberow, in the Latitude of 7 Degrees 30 Minutes North, to Cape Lopez Gonfalvez, in 1 Degree South, near the Coast of Angola: Now in so large an Extent, we meet with very different People and Trade.

The first part I shall mention, is about 250 Leagues in length, from the above-mentioned River of Sherberow, round Cape Palmas, to the River Ancober near Axim. This is commonly called the Windward Coast, on which there is no Settlement or Factory of any European Nation; but the Trade is carried on in this manner.

As foon as the Natives perceive a Ship on their Coast, they make a smoke on the Sea-Shore, as a Signal for the Ship to come to an Anchor, that they may come and trade with the People on board. As soon as we are at an Anchor, they come to us in small Boats, called Cannoes, being made of a single Tree, and bring their Commodities with them.

Along the greatest part of this Coast, the Europeans have been cautious of venturing on Shore amongst the Natives, they being very barbarous and uncivilized, as several have experienced to their cost.

In those few places where I have been on Shore my self, I could never obtain a satisfactory account from the Natives of the Inland Parts. Nor did I ever meet with a white Man that had been, or durst venture himself, up in the Country; and believe, if any had attempted it, the Natives would have destroyed them, out of a Jealousy that they designed to make discoveries to their prejudice.

However, the Trade on this part of the Coast, has been exceedingly improved within these 20 years past. It consists in Negroes, Elephants Teeth, and other Commodities; which the Natives freely bring on board our Ships, except when any Affront has been offered them; which, to the great Scandal both of English and French, has too often been done, namely by their forcibly carrying away the Traders, under some slight pretence of having received an Injury from them. And this has put a stop to the Trade of the particular place where it has happened for a long time; and innocent People, who have

have come there to trade in small Vessels, have suffered for their Countrymens Villany: Several in my time having been surprized by the Natives, and the People destroyed out of revenge.

From the aforementioned River of Ancober to Acra, is about 50 Leagues. This part is commonly called the Gold-Coast, and thereon are many English and Dutch Factories, under each of which is a Negroe Town, protected by them. The Reader may reasonably suppose, that here we might have a perfect account of the Inland parts; but we can have no fuch thing. For the Policy of the Natives does not fuffer white Men to go up any great way into the Country. Moreover, the Inland People are very jealous of those Negroes, who are under the Protection of the Factories; fo that the account I have received from both when at peace (which has brought some of the former to the Sea fide) has feemed fo fabulous and contradictory, that it could not be depended

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upon; for the Negroes are very apt to impose on us. However, in this part called the Gold Coast, the Natives near the Sea side are much civilized, by their conversing with the Europeans, at their Settlements; and by going on board so many Ships to trade, as frequent this part of the Coast. Here we can venture on Shore amongst the Natives, without any hazard; for 'tis to be noted, a large part of the Gold Coast is not in Subjection to them.

From Acra (where stands the last of the European Settlements, on this part of the Coast,) to Jaqueen, is about 60 Leagues. In this Tract there are no Factories but at two places, namely at Whidaw, and Jaqueen. And tho' they have been so long settled by the Europeans, yet till the late Conquest of them by the King of Dahome, we could learn but little of the Inland parts; no white Men having been permitted to go beyond the Kingdom of Ardra, which is about 50 Miles from the Sea side. But, as I have related in the

following Sheets what I saw and heard when I was there; so I omit farther mention of it here.

From Jaqueen to the Bay of Bennin, and so round to the Callabars, Camerones, and Cape Lopez, is above 300 Leagues, in which long Tract there is no Settlement of any European Nation; so of course the Natives are for the most part barbarous and uncivilized. I have, in my younger years, traded to many places in this Tract, especially at Old Callabar, where, in the year 1704, I faw a fad Instance of Barbarity. The King of the place, called Jabrue, being fallen fick, he caused, by the advice of his Priests, a young Child about ten Months old, to be facrificed to his God, for his recovery. I saw the Child after it was killed, hung up on the Bough of a Tree, with a live Cock tied near it, as an addition to the Ceremony.

The last Voyage I went to this place, was in the year 1713, when I commanded the

the Ship Anne, belonging to Messieur Bradley, Virginia Merchants; where I had the good fortune to save a Child from being Sacrificed, as the other poor Insan had been. And tho' 'tis a long story, and therefore may not so well suit an Introduction, yet on account of the singula Circumstances wherewith it was attended, I believe the Reader may be please with it.

The chief King, or Lord of the Coun try (for there are feveral petty Princes of that River) called Acqua, came on board sometime after my arrival, to see the Ship and hear our Musick. Being high pleased with his Entertainment, he kind invited me on Shore; fo I promised u wait on him in a few days. According I went; but as I knew his People to b fierce brutish Cannibals, I took, by wa of precaution, ten of my Sailors as Guard, with my Gunner to command them. They were all well armed with Musquets and Pistols, which those say vage People I knew were much afraid of. Upol

Upon my landing at the Water fide, I was received by some persons, whom the King had appointed to conduct me about a quarter of a mile up, where I found him fitting on a Stool, under some shady Trees; another being placed by his fide, which I was defired to fit on. The King did not speak one word, or moved in the least, till I was sat down; but then he bid me welcome, enquiring after my health; as I did after his, having first paid my respects to him, by bowing and taking off my Hat. There were many of his Courtiers present, and I observed above 50 of his Guard, stood at a little distance. They were armed with Bows and Arrows, a Sword by their fide, and a barbed Lance in their Hands. My people ranged themselves opposite to them, at the distance of about twenty paces.

After having presented the King with some things, which, tho' trisling to us, he seemed highly delighted with; accidentally turning my Head about, I saw a little

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Negroe-

Negroe-Child tied by the Leg to a Stake driven in the Ground, the flies and other vermin crawling on him, and two Priests standing by. Being surprized at this fight, I asked the King, " What was the reason " of the Child's being tied in that man-" ner?" He replied, "It was to be facrifi-" ced that night to his God Egbo, for his " prosperity." Moved at the hearing of this, I called (too hastily I must own) to one of my People, to take the Child from the Ground, in order to preserve him. He had no fooner done it, but one of the King's Guard advanced towards him, in a threatning posture with his Lance; and fearing he would run him through, I immediately took out of my Pocket a small Pistol; at the fight of which, the King rose from his Stool in a fright. But I bid the Linguist tell him, " I would offer no " Injury to him or his, provided he oret dered his Guard not to attack mine:" Which he readily doing, and all things being quiet, I expostulated with him, " for his breaking the Laws of Hospitality, in permitting one of his Guard to " threaten

threaten my Man with his Lance." To this the King replied, " I had not " done well in ordering him to feize the " Child, it being his Property." This I acknowledged, " excufing it on the account of my Religion, which, tho' it " does not allow of forcibly taking away what belongs to another, yet expresly " forbids fo horrid a Thing, as the put-"ting a poor innocent Child to death. " And that this would, instead of Bleffings, certainly bring on him the Wrath of the most high God, whom we white " Men adored." I also observed to him, That the grand Law of human Nature " was, To do to others as we defir'd to be " done unto;" and many other Arguments I used, too long to repeat here. At the same time I offered to pay him for the Child, which the King readily accepted: And on my asking, what he defired for it? to my surprize he only asked a bunch of sky coloured Beads, worth about half a Crown Sterling. I expected he would have demanded at least ten times that Value; for the Negroes, from the King to

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the Trader, are generally very ready, on any extraordinary occasion, to make their Advantage of us.

After this was over, I staid about an hour with the King, treating him with European Liquors and Victuals, which I had carried on Shore for that purpose; but I took care not to drink any of his Palm Wine, (which is a Liquor drawn from a Tree, and which they can artfully poison) under pretence, it did not agree with me. But my People did not spare it, drinking plentifully of it with his Guards; and eating likewise heartily of their Victuals.

After this I took my leave, and the King expressed himself well pleased with my Visit; promising to come on board again, before I went out of the River.

As we were returning in our Boat, I told the Gunner, "That when we came on board, he should pitch on some motherly Woman, to take care of this poor
Child."

" Child." To which he answered, "He had already one in his Eye."

It happened, the day before I went on Shore to see the King, I had purchased the Mother of the Child (tho' I knew it not then) from one of his People; and at that time my Surgeon observing to me, she had much Milk in her Breasts, I enquired of the Person that brought her on board, whether she had a Child when he bought her from the Inland Trader? To which he answered in the negative.

But now on my coming on board, no fooner was the Child handed into the Ship, but this poor Woman espying it, run with great eagerness, and snatched him out of the white Man's Arms that held him. I think there never was a more moving sight than on this occasion, between the Mother and her little Son, (who was a fine Boy about 18 Months old; for 'tis to be noted, the Negroe-Women generally suckle their Children till they are above two years old) especially when the Linguist

guist told her, "I had saved her Child "from being sacrificed." Having at that time above 300 Negroes on board my Ship, no sooner was the Story known amongst them, but they expressed their Thankfulness to me, by clapping their Hands, and singing a Song in my praise. This affair proved of great service to us, for it gave them a good Notion of white Men; so that we had no Mutiny in our Ship, during the whole Voyage.

I went from the River of Old Callebar, to the Island of Antegoa, where our Cargoe was sold; and upon my telling one Mr. Studeley this remarkable story, he bought the Mother and her Son, and was a kind Master to them.

I could give a farther account of some more extraordinary things, that have happened in the many Voyages I have made to this Coast; but am afraid of being tedious to the Reader: So I shall conclude with observing, that Mynheer Bosman's Account

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Account of the Coast of Guinea, is the most perfect History we have of that Country; and do readily confess, that whatever he mentions, as far as my Observations have reach'd, I have found to be true. To this Book therefore I refer the Reader, who is curious to know, the Manners, Customs, Trade, &c. of the Negroes along the Sea-Coast.



#### ERRATA.

ball of Quinea, is the mol

P Age 67. Line 1. for eight read eighty. p. 71. l. 6. Ja queens r. Dahomes. p. 123. l. 14. and in other places Testesole r. Testesole. p. 190. l. 4. to r. from. p. 221 l. 23. at r. in. Ibid. l. 24. in r. at. 230. l. 15. just of Cocklyn's Anchor, r. just heaving up their Anchor.

#### ANEW

# ACCOUNT

Of some Parts of

# GUINEA,

And the Slave-Trade.

### BOOK I.

Containing an Account of the Defiruction of the Kingdom of Whidaw, or Fida; the Author's Journey to the King of Dahome's Camp; with several other remarkable Particulars.

OR the better understanding of the following Relation, it is necessary to prefix some Account of the late State of the Country of Whidaw, before

fore the terrible Destruction and Desolation thereof, in the Month of March 1726-7.

Description of Whidaw. the Sabee.

The Reader then is to observe, That the Sea-coast of this Kingdom lies in 6 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude. Sabee, the chief Town of the Country, is fituate about seven Miles from the Sea fide. In this Town the King allowed the Europeans convenient Houses for their Factories; and by him we were protected in our Persons and Goods, and, when our Business was finish'd, were permitted to go away in Safety. The Road where Ships anchored, was a free Port for all European Nations trading to those Parts for Negroes. And this Trade was fo very considerable, that it is computed, while it was in a flourishing State, there were above twenty thousand Negroes yearly exported from thence, and the neighbouring Places, by the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese. As this was the principal Part of all the Guinea Coast for the Slave Trade, the frequent Intercourse that Nation had for many Years carried on with

the white People (a) had rendered them so civilized, that it was a Pleasure to deal with them.

The greatest Inconvenience we were exposed to, was the Thievery of the common People, which it was hardly possible to guard intirely against; so bold and dextrous were they at it: Tho' if taken in the Fact, they became our Slaves.

The Custom of the Country allows Polyga-Polygamy to an excessive degree; it be-my. ingusual for a great Man to have some hundreds of Wives and Concubines, and meaner Men in proportion; whereby the Land was become so stock'd with People, that the whole Country appeared full of Towns and Villages: And being a very rich Soil, and well cultivated by the Inhabitants, it looked like an intire Garden. Trade having likewise flourished for a long time, had greatly enriched the People; which, with the Fertility of their Country, had unhappily made them so proud, esseminate, and luxurious, that

<sup>(</sup>a) So they call the Europeans, in Opposition to the

A new Account of Guinea,

tho' they could have brought at least one hundred thousand Men into the Field, yet fo great were their Fears, that they were driven out of their principal City, by two hundred of their Enemies; and at last lost their whole Country, to a Nation they formerly had contemned. And tho' this may appear to the Reader very incredible, ye it will sufficiently be illustrated by the following Account.

Account

of Whi-

daw.

The King of Whidaw came to the of the King Crown when about fourteen Years old, f that the Government was for many Year in the hands of the great Men of the Country; who liked it so well, that the he was past thirty Years of Age whe this Calamity happened, yet they had this time fought all ways to keep his from a Knowledge of governing. The suited indeed with his Temper, for he w indolent and lascivious, having in h Court several thousands of Women, whom he was served in all capacitis for no Men-servants were allowed to there. Being thus foften'd by his Ple fures, he grew intirely negligent of his A

fairs, which at last produced such a Weakness in the Government, that it ended in its Ruin. For the great Men played the petty Tyrants, often falling out, and purfuing their particular Interests, without regarding the Good of their King or Country. By this means the common People were divided, and fuch Parties arose among them, as, added to their Fears, rendered them a Prey to their Neighbours; fo that tho' they were able to have repelled any Force which could have been brought against them by the neighbouring Countries, they rather chose to abandon the Land, than join heartily against the common Enemy; who brought at this time on them fuch a terrible Defolation by the Sword, Fire and Famine, as hardly ever befel any Country.

This common Enemy was the King The King of Dahome, a far inland Prince, who for of Dahome's Infome Years past had rendered himself vasion. famous, by many Victories gained over his Neighbours. He sent an Ambassador to the King of Whidaw, requesting to have an open Trassick to the Sea side, and of-B3 fering

fering to pay him his usual Customs on Negroes exported: which being resused, he from that time resolved to resent it, when Opportunity offered. This the King of Whidaw was so far from apprehending, that in an Audience I had of him, soon after the Ambassador's Departure, he told me; if the King of Dakome should offer to invade him, he would not use him when taken according to their Custom, that is, cut off his Head, but would keep him for a Slave to do the vilest Offices.

His Con-

And here 'tis necessary to make a short Digression concerning the King of Da-komè's Conquests. Being a politick and couragious Prince, he had such Success against his Neighbours, in a few Years, that he conquered towards the Sea Coast, as far as the Kingdom of Ardra, which is the next inland Country adjoining to Whidaw; and then resolved to remain quiet for some time, in order to settle his Conquests. But an Accident soon called him again to Arms, for the King of Ardra having much injured his own Brother, named

named Hussar; the latter sent privately to the King of Dahomè, and offered him a large Sum of Money to revenge him for the many Affronts he had receiv'd from the King his Brother. This the politick Prince foon listen'd to; and the King of Ardra having discovered the Matter, sent to the Whidaws, representing to them, it was their common Interest to oppose this Conqueror; but they most imprudently refused to lend him their Assistance. So being obliged to encounter alone the King of Dahomè, he met him with all the Forces he could raise, which was about fifty thousand Men of his own People, and after a three Days Engagement, his Army was totally defeated, and himself taken Prisoner. Soon after which he was beheaded in the Conqueror's Presence according to the barbarous Custom of these black Princes.

There was at that time in the Country Bullfinch of Ardra a white Gentleman, named Bullfinch Lambe, who was detained Prisoner by the King on this occasion: Having been sent by the Governour of the B 4 African

African Company's Settlement at Jaqueen, on some Business to the King of Ardra, this Prince detained him, under pretence the Company owed him for one hundred Slaves, formerly fent down to their Factory; and he fent word to the Governour, if he did not forthwith pay him this Debt, he would make Mr. Lambe a Slave. Which the Governour refusing to do, he remained a Prisoner about two Years, being used very hardly 'till he was taken in this War by the King of Dahome: Being brought into the King's Presence (who had never before seen a white Man) he was treated very kindly by his Majesty, and had, in a short time after, a Houshold appointed for him with many Servants, and the King bestowed on him some of his near Relations for Wives. Having remained with this Prince near three Years, he was at his own earnest Desire, dismiss'd with a noble Present of Gold and Slaves, in order to go for Europe: And his Majesty by a Messenger, to the Towns and Villages he passed through, in his way to Jaqueen on the Sea side, ordered the InhaInhabitants to shew him all possible Respect, and provide nobly for his Entertainment.

After this Gentleman's Departure, the Whidaw King of Dahome resolved to invade the Country of Whidaw; which, as I have been told, Mr. Lambe had diffuaded him from; representing the great number of the Inhabitants; who were much used to Fire-Arms. Moreover, that the white People refident and trading there, would no doubt affift them for their own Interest: So that there was no probability of Success. But this politick Prince finding by his Spies, how much the great Men and People were divided, and that the King was only a Cypher in the Government; he marched against them. The first part of the Country he invaded was the northernmost, of which a great Lord named Appragab was hereditary Governour, who forthwith fent to his King for Affistance: But through the Interest of his Enemies at Court, who wished his Destruction, he was refused: So having made a little Resistance, he submitted to

the King of Dahome, who received him

very kindly.

The Conquest of Appragab gave the King an easy Entrance into the Heart of the Country; but he was obliged to hale there by a river, which runs about half a Mile to the northward of the principal Town of the Whidaws, called Sabee, the Residence of their King. Here the King of Dahome encamped for some time, no imagining he could have found so easy a Passage and Conquest as he met with afterwards. For the Pass of the River was of that Nature, it might have been defended against his whole Army, by five hundred resolute Men; but instead of guarding it, these cowardly luxurious People, thinking the fame of their numbers sufficient to deter the Dahomes from attempting it, kept no fet Guard. They only went every Morning and Evening to the River side, to make Fetiche as they call it, that is, to offer Sacrifice to their principal God, which was a particular harmless Snake they adored, and prayed to on this occasion, to keep their Enemies from coming over the River. And

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And, as worshiping a Snake may seem Snakes very extravagant to fuch as are unacquain-worshipted with the Religion of the Negroes, I shall inform the Reader of the Reasons given for it by the People of Whidaw. This fort of Snake is peculiar to their Country, being of a very fingular Make; for they are very big in the middle, rounding on the Back like a Hog, but very small at the Head and Tail, which renders their Motion very flow. Their Colour is yellow and white, with brown Streaks; and so harmless, that if they are accidentally trode on (for it is a capital Crime to do it wilfully) and they bite, no bad Effect ensues; which is one Reason they give for their worshipping of them. Moreover, there is a constant Tradition amongst them, that whenever any Calamity threatens their Country, by imploring the Snake's Affistance, they are always delivered from it. However this fell out formerly, it now stood them in no stead; neither were the Snakes themselves spared after the Conquest. For they being in great Numbers, and a kind of domestick Animals.

Animals, the Conquerors found many of them in the Houses, which they treated in this manner: They held them up by the middle, and spoke to them in this manner: If you are Gods, speak and save your selves: Which the poor Snakes not being able to do, the Dahomes cut their Heads off, ripped them open, broiled them on the Coals, and eat them. It is very strange, the Conquerors should so far contemn the Gods of this Country fince they are so barbarous and savage themselves, as to offer human Sacrifice whenever they gain a Victory over their Enemies; an Eye-Witness to which ! was, as hereafter shall be related.

But to return to the King of Dahome He was so politick as to send to the Entropeans, then residing at Whidaw, to alsure them, if they stood neuter, and were not found in Arms they should receive mand a proved in their Persons or Goods, in case he proved Conqueror; and that he would ease their Trade, and remove divers Impositions laid on it by the King of Whidaw: On the contrary, if the appears

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appeared against him, they must expect his Resentment. But they were in a Dilemma; for tho' the King of Whidaw did not defire otherwise, yet they would gladly have retired from Sabee to two mud-walled Forts, belonging to the Englist and French African Companies, which are within three Miles of the Sea fide. However, finding it would have been refented by the King as a Discouragement to his People, they were obliged to remain in the Town, never suspecting the Inhabitants would have run away in the cowardly manner they did; or that they should share the Fate of War with them.

The Pass of the River being, as I have related above, wholly left to the Care of the Snakes, whom the Enemy little feared; and they having observed for several Days, that the Whidaws kept no set Guard there, it encouraged the King of Dahome's General to send two hundred of his Soldiers to ford the River: Which having done without Opposition, and being bold Fellows, they marched towards the

the Town of Sabee, founding their mufical Instruments. This was about three a Clock in the Afternoon, and the Outguards of the Town were almost all asleep; but being roused by the Noise of the Enemy's Musick and Shouts, they fled into the Town, reporting, that all the Dabome Army was got over the River: Which foon reaching the King's Ear, he immediately fled, with all his People, making no Resistance. I was informed by the white People, then in the English and French Forts, that about five a Clock the same Afternoon, they saw such Numbers of People flying from all Parts of the Country towards the Sea fide, that it was very furprizing: For the Fields were covered with them many Miles round, and their black Colour made them the more conspicuous in a clear sunshiny Day, on a fine flat champaign Country. The King, with a great number of his Subjects fled to an Island on the Sea Coast, which was th parted from the main Land by a River, ha having ferried over in Canoes; but a ou great many that could not have the fame Benefit,

Benefit, being hurried on by their Fears, were drowned in the Rivers, in attempting to fwim to the Islands lying near Popoe; which was the next neighbouring Country to their own, on the Sea Coast to the Westward; and where they might have been secure from their Enemies, had they escaped. Moreover, many thousands of these poor People that sheltered themselves up and down the Country among the Bushes, perished afterwards by Sword and Famine.

But now to return to the Dahome Soldiers: When they first came to Sabee, it seems they marched directly to the King's Court, where not finding him, they set it on Fire; and then sent their General word of what had happened; who brought the whole Army over the River that Evening. He was in such a Surprize at his good Fortune, that he could hardly believe what he saw; and the white Gentlemen were as much amazed, to see the great Cowardice of these People, who had vapoured so highly, and as ignominiously quitted the Town without opposing their

their Enemies in the least, leaving them intirely in the Power of the Conquerors, with all their own Riches. Mr. Duport, who was then the African Company's Governour, told me, that when the Dahome Sol. diers, who had never seen white Men be fore, came to his House, they stood i amaze, and would not venture near him, il he beckon'd and held out his Hand to then Whereupon they laid hold on him, an finding him a Man like themselves in Respects, except Colour, soon laid ass their Reverence; and taking from hi what he had valuable in his Pocke made him Prisoner, with about for other white Men, English, French, Du and Portuguese, who were served in t same manner. Amongst them was f remiab Tinker Esq; who had just best refigned the African Company's Affairs Mr. Duport, and defigned, if this Ac dent had not prevented him, to have barked in a few Days for England. I Segnor Pereira the Portuguese Governo had the good Fortune to escape for Sabee, to the French Fort. He told 1

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he was in great fear of being smothered in the Press of the flying People, whom he could hardly keep off with his Dagger, from the Hammock he was carried in on Mens Shoulders. The Day after the taking of the Town of Sabee, the white Men taken Prisoners, were sent into the Country to the King of Dabome, who lay then encamped with another Army, about forty Miles off in the Kingdom of Ardra; some Hammocks being provided for the principal white People amongst them, which is the usual way of travelling in this Country for Gentlemen either white or black.

Mr. Duport further told me, that as foon as they came into the Camp, they were separated according to their Nations, being delivered to, and put under the Care of, several principal black Gentlemen. At first they were badly accommodated; for it was some Days before he could obtain an Audience of the King; which when he did, he greatly complained of the Usage he had met with in all Respects. On this his Majesty said,

" He was very forry for what had hap-" pen'd, for he had given Orders to his " Captains, in case they met with Suc-" cess, to use the white Men well; but " he hoped they would excuse what had " befallen them, which was to be attries buted to the Fate of War: Confessing, " he was much furprized when he was " first informed, so many white People " were made Prisoners, and soon after " brought to his Camp. That in the " Confusion of Things he had not regarder ed them fo much as he ought; but for " the future, they should have better " Treatment." Which accordingly they found; but could never recover any thing taken from them, that being put on the score of the Fate of War. However, a few Days after, they were fet at Liberty without any Ransom, and sent down to the English and French Forts. The principal Gentlemen amongst them were presented with Slaves, and his Majesty affured them, as foon as he had fettled his Conquest, he would make Trade flourish, and have a particular Regard The to their Interests.

The latter end of March, in the Year 1726-7, I arrived with the Katharine Galley in the Road of Whidaw, where I landed, and went to the English Fort, which is about three Miles from the Sea fide, and likewise to the French Fort near adjoining. The white People that had been taken Prisoners, being returned to those Places but a few Days before, gave me a full account of the great Calamity fallen on the Country, about three Weeks before my Arrival; which gave me much Concern, I having traded there several Voyages. It was a lamentable Story to hear, and a dismal Sight to see, the Defolation of fo fine a Country, lately exceeding populous, now destroyed in such a manner by Fire and Sword. The Carnage of the Inhabitants was, above all, a most moving Spectacle, the Fields being strewed with their Bones. Moreover the Concern for the Interest of my Voyage affected me not a little. But knowing it highly necessary to keep up my Spirits in so hot a Country, I resolved (humbly relying on Providence) not to be wanting in

in my Endeavours, for the Interest I had under my Care; and I met with far greater Success than any way I could have reasonably expected, considering the melancholy Prospect I had then of Affairs, which shall be related hereafter.

Having stayed three Days on Shore with the English and French, who, I found, were in as great a Doubt as my self how to act in their Affairs; I came to a Resolution to go for the Port or Road of Jaqueen, which lies about seven Leagues to the Eastward of Whidaw; and has about thirty Miles of Sea-Coast. This Place has always been the Sea Port to the Kingdom of Ardra, and tributary to it; having a hereditary Governour, who paid his Tribute in Loaves of Salt, there being great Quantities made here.

As foon as the King of Dahome had conquered Ardra, the Lord of this Place fent his Submission, offering the usual Tribute he used to pay the conquered King; which was readily accepted. This shews the Policy of the King of Dahome for the had made a terrible Destruction

on of the Inhabitants of the inland Countries he had conquered from Time to Time; yet he knew his Interest too well, to destroy the People of this Country in the fame manner; for having now obtained his Desires, in gaining a free Pasfage to the Sea-Side, he judged the Jaqueens would be very useful to him, because they understood Trade, and now by their means, he should never want a fupply of Arms and Gunpowder, to carry on his defigned Conquests. Moreover these People had ever been Rivals to the Whidaws in Trade, and had an inveterate Hatred against them, because they had drawn almost the whole trade from the Jaqueens, to their own Country. For, the Pleasantness thereof, with the good Government in former Times, had induced the Europeans to carry on the far greater part of the Trade, at their principal Town of Sabee.

It was on the third of April 1727, we anchored in the Road of Jaqueen; and foon after I fent on Shore my Surgeon, to the Lord of that Place, to settle an

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Agreement with him, before I landed my felf; for I had never been at this Place, and had a Hint given me not to trust him, before all the Particulars I demanded were agreed to by him; for he had formerly plaid base Tricks with some Europeans, who had not taken such a Precaution. In the Evening my Surgeon fent me a Letter, informing me, he had obtained all I defired; For the Performance of which the Lord of the Place had taken his Fetiche or Oath, in presence of a French and Dutch Gentleman: On this Affurance I landed the next Day, and went up to the Town of Jaqueen, which lies about three Miles from the Sea side, where I was received very kindly, the Promises and Agréement made with my Surgeon being renewed, and a House appointed me to keep Factory in.

The next Day a Messenger came from the King of Dahome, whose Name was Buttenoe. He spoke very good English, and told me, "His Majesty having heard" there was an English Ship arrived in the Road of Whidaw, he had ordered him

" to go there and invite the Captain to " come up to his Camp; (which was " about forty Miles directly within the " Land in the Country of Ardra) but being " told there I was gone for Jaqueen, he " had followed me to make the King's De-" fire known to me: Affuring me in his " Majesty's Name, I should be intirely " fafe in all Respects, and kindly used." To this I answered, "I would con-" fider his Majesty's kind Invitation, and " he should know my Resolution next " Day." But perceiving I had some Distrust in my Mind, he represented to me, " That if I did not go, it would highly " offend the King; that he feared I " should not be permitted to trade, be-" fides other bad Consequences might " follow." This black Messenger, as mentioned above, spoke very good English, having learnt it when a Boy in the English Factory at Whidaw: He belonged to Mr. Lambe, and was with him at the time he was taken Prisoner by the King of Ardra. They both fell into the King of Dahome's Power, as related above, where C 4

'The Author's Journey to the King of Dakome's Camp.

where he learnt the Country Language; and in this respect I had as capable an Interpreter as I could defire. So, upon confidering the matter, finding the Interest of my Voyage depended on my going to the Camp to wait on the King, I refolved to undertake it, tho' the many Barbarities I had been told his People had been guilty of, gave me some Concern. However, soon after, I had further Encouragement, by others offering to accompany me. For a Dutch Captain's Curiofity prompted him to it, whose Ship had been destroyed just before by the Portuguese: Moreover the Dutch chief Factor proposed to send one of his Writers with large Presents to the Conqueror; likewise the Lord of Jaqueen offered to fend his own Brother, to pay his Duty, with great Presents to the King; not having done it before. So having prepared all Things for our Journey, which took us up three Days, we fet out in the following manner.

The eighth of April, at nine a Clock in the Morning, being accompanied with the aforesaid Persons, we went to the Side of the River that runs on the Back part of the Town of Jaqueen, having in our Retinue One hundred black Servants. ferried over the River in Canoes, which are a fort of Boats, made of large Trees hollowed. The People of the Town attended us in great numbers to the water fide, praying for our fuccess: For they were under terrible apprehensions for our safety, amongst such barbarous People as we were going to: Especially they were highly concerned for the Duke, their Lord's Brother, who was a Person endowed with the most amiable qualities I ever met with amongst Persons of his Colour.

Being landed on the other side of the River, we set out on our Journey, the proper servants of each person attending in their several places. I had six Hammock-men, who relieved one another by turns; two at a time being only required to carry the Pole which it is fastened to. I had likewise a small Horse to ride on, when I was weary with lying in the Hammock. The other Gentlemen were

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travelling was at the rate of about four miles an hour; for we made frequent Stops for our Baggage-carriers, there being no Carts nor good Horses at Jaqueen; the few Horses that are there being but little bigger than our Asses. The Country, as we travelled along, appeared beautiful and pleasant, and the Roads good; but desolated by the War, for we saw the remains of abundance of Towns and Villages, with a great quantity of the late Inhabitants bones strewed about the Fields.

Noon time being past, we dined under some Cocoe-trees, on the cold Provision we carried with us; and in the Evening being come to a sew forry Hovels, we put up there for the night, and lay on the ground on mats, (the huts not being big enough to hang our hammocks up in) and the greatest part of our Attendants were obliged to lye in the open Air.

The next day about seven a clock in the morning, we set out again, and by nine came within half a mile of the King's Camp. Here we halted, and judge judge we had then travelled about forty miles from Jaqueen. Soon after a Messenger came from his Majesty to compliment and welcome us; and being told it was proper to prepare our felves, we took our best apparel out of our trunks, and dress'd our felves under the covert of an old wall; and foon after we advanced within a little way of the Camp, where we were defired to wait for a great Man who was to receive us. The King, it feems, to do us the more honour, fent the principal perfon of his Court (whom the Negroes diftinguish'd to us by the Title of the Great Captain) to receive us; which he did in a very extraordinary manner. For he came in the midst of five hundred Soldiers, who had Fire-arms, drawn Swords, Shields, and Banners in their hands, ufing fo many odd and ridiculous Ceremonies, (as they appeared to us) that at first we could not judge, whether they meant us well or ill: For the Great Captain, with some of his Officers, approached us, with their Swords drawn, flourishing them over our heads, then pointing

pointing them to our Breasts, and skipping and jumping about us, like so many monkies, showing as many tricks and postures, as that animal generally does. At last, after some time spent in this manner, the Great Man fettled into a fedate temper; Then he gave us his hand, welcoming us in the King's Name, and drank to us in Palm Wine, which is a Juice drawn from the Palm-tree, which is very common in that Country. We returned the Compliment, drinking the King's health both in Wine and Beer we had brought with us, which he feemed to be well pleased with: and all Ceremonies being ended, he defired us to go with him towards the Camp; and accordingly we proceeded, the Soldiers guarding us, and the mufical Instruments making a dismal noise.

In about half an hour's time we arrived at the Camp, which was near a very great ruin'd Town, late the principal place of the Kingdom of Ardra. Here the Army lay in tents, which, according to the Negroe-Custom, were made of small Boughs

of Trees, and covered with Thatch, very much refembling Bee-hives, but each big enough to hold ten or twelve Soldiers, who crept in at a hole on one fide, and lay heads and points together. Upon our entring the Camp, we were conducted to some large Trees, where Chairs, (taken from the Whidaws,) were brought for us to fit on, under the Shade of the Trees. Immediately fuch Numbers of People flock'd about us, that if the Officers had not ordered the Soldiers to keep the the Multitude off, we should have been in danger of being smothered. For tho' there had been forty white men taken at Whidaw, who were all brought up prifoners to this Camp, and afterwards released, as related above, yet thousands of people, who came fince out of the far inland Countries, had never feen a white man before us.

Having rested our selves about two hours, under the Shade of the Trees, and beheld divers Feats of Activity, performed by the Soldiers to divert us, we were conducted to a thatch'd House, that had been

been prepared for us; and tho' we were obliged to stoop at our going in at the Door, yet there was height enough within to hang our Hammocks up to sleep in, which was no little Satisfaction to us, for our Bones were hardly recovered, from the former night's Lodging on the Ground. After we had stowed our Baggage in the Tent, the great Man took his leave of us, but left a Guard to prevent any of the People from disturbing us, and he went to the King to give his Majesty an Account of our Arrival.

By this time Noon was come, so we set down to dinner on cold Ham and Fowls, which we had brought with us. Our Tent stood in the middle of a large Court palisadoed round. We were surprized, that no People came into the place to see us, they having crouded so much at first, on our coming into the Camp: But I was told the King having been inform'd how we were incommoded, had given strict Orders, no one, on pain of Death, should, without leave of the Captain of our Guard, come to see

us. This was pleafing news; for by this we found his Majesty was duly obeyed, and also had our safety at heart. But we were plagued with a Vermin that greatly annoyed us; and that was such an infinite number of Flies, that tho' we had several Servants with Flappers, to keep them off our Victuals, yet it was hardly possible to put a bit of Meat into our Mouths, without some of those Vermin with it. These Flies, it seems, were bred by a great number of dead Mens Heads, which were piled on Stages, not far from our Tent, tho' we did not know so much at that time.

After we had dined, a Messenger came to us, about three o' clock in the afternoon, from the Great Captain, desiring us to go to the King's Gate; accordingly we went, and in our way saw two large Stages, on which were heaped a great number of dead Men's Heads, that afforded no pleasing sight or smell. Our Interpreter told us, they were the Heads of four thousand of the Whidaws, who had been sacrificed by the Dahomès to their God,

God, about three weeks before, as an Acknowledgment of the great Conquest

they had obtain'd.

When we came to the King's Gate, as they call'd it, we found it only an Entrance into a large Court, which was palifadoed round; there being feveral mud-wall'd Houses in it. Here we were defired to fit down on Stools brought to us; and an Officer presented us, in the King's name, with Cows, Sheep, Goats and other Provision; with this Compliment, that as his Majesty was then in Camp, it was not in his power to provide for us better at this time. Having returned thanks for this unexpected favour we went out of the Court, and were furprized with a fight, at the Gate, of form Rout Men ranked in file, with Fusees on their Shoulders, and broad Swords in their Hands; who had about their necks string of dead Mens Teeth, reaching as low a their middle, both behind and before, in fuch Quantities, as might furnish all the Barber-Surgeons Shops in Europe. Being furprized at this extraordinary appearance, I afked

I asked the Linguist, Why they were drest in this manner? To which he replied, They were the King's Heroes, or Worthies, who had killed a great many People with their own hands, and were allowed, as a mark of their great Valour, to string and wear their Enemies Teeth about their Necks; and, I might observe, some of them had been more successful than others, by the different quantities they had on: For that it was made death by their Law, for any of those Gentlemen to string a Tooth, without first making due Proof, before the proper Officers, that it belonged to an Enemy slain with their own hand in Battle. Having viewed this strange Sight, I bid the Linguist tell them, " They appeared to be a " Company of brave Gentlemen, and that " I was their humble Servant." This Compliment pleased them, and they returned it, faying, "They had a great " Esteem forwhite Men."

After this was pass'd, we returned to our Tent, and supped; then hung up our Hammocks, and lay in them till

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Morning. I took notice, that the Lord of Jaqueen's Brother, who came from thence with us, was entertained at the Tent of the Great Captain; and on my inquiring the reason, I was answered, It was in respect to us, that we might not be crouded in our Tent.

Next Morning, at nine a Clock, an Officer came from the King to acquaint us, we should have an Audience forthwith. Accordingly we prepared our felves; and then going to the King's Gate, were foon after introduced into his Prefence. His Majesty was in a large Court palisadoed round, sitting (contrary to the Custom of the Country) on a fine gilt Chair, which he had taken from the King of Whidaw. There were held over his Head, by Women, three large Umbrellas, to shade him from the Sun: And four other Women stood behind the Chair of State, with Fufils on their Shoulders. I observed, the Women were finely dress'd from the middle downward, (the Custom of the Country being not to cover the Body upward, of either Sex) moreover they

they had on their Arms, many large Manelloes, or Rings of Gold of great Value, and round their Necks, and in their Hair, abundance of their Country Jewels, which are a fort of Beads of divers Colours, brought from a far inland Country, where they are dug out of the Earth, and in the fame Esteem with the Negroes, as Diamonds amongst the Europeans.

The King had a Gown on, flowered with Gold, which reached as low as his Ancles; an European embroidered Hat on his Head; with Sandals on his Feet. We being brought within ten Yards of the Chair of State, were defired to stand still: The King then ordered the Linguist to bid us welcome; on which we paid his Majesty the respect of our Hats, bowing our Heads at the same time very low, as the Interpreter directed us. Then I ordered the Linguist to acquaint the King, "That on his Majesty's sending, to define me to come up to his Camp, I

" forthwith resolved on the Journey; " that I might have the pleasure of see-

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" ing so great and good a King, as I " heard he was; relying intirely on the " Promises his Messenger had made me " in his Majesty's Name." The King feemed well pleased with what I said, and affured us of his Protection and kind usage. Then Chairs being brought, we were defired to fit down, and the King drank our Healths; and then Liquor being brought us by his Order, we drank his Majesty's. After this the Interpreter told us, " It was the King's Defire we " should stay some time with him, to see " the Method of paying the Soldier " for Captives taken in War, and the " Heads of the flain.

It so happen'd, that in the Evening of the Day we came into the Camp, there were brought above eighteen hundred Captives, from a Country called Tuffor at the distance of six days Journey. The occasion of warring on them, the Linguist thus related, "That at the time" his King was wholly employed in contriving the Destruction of the Whidaws, these People had presume

" to attack five hundred of his Sol-" diers, fent by his Majesty as a Guard " to twelve of his Wives, who were " going with a large quantity of Goods " and fine things, carried by Slaves, to " the Country of Dahome. The Guard " being routed, and the Women flain, " the Tuffoes possess'd themselves of " the Goods; for which Outrage, as " foon as the Conquest of Whidaw was " compleated, the King fent part of his " Army against them, to revenge him of for their Villany; in which they had " all defirable Success." It was necessary to mention this Affair, for the better understanding of what follows, it being so very remarkable.

The King, at the time we were present, ordered the Captives of Tuffoe to be brought into the Court: Which being accordingly done, he chose himself a great number out of them, to be sacrificed to his Fetiche or Guardian Angel; the others being kept for Slaves for his own use; or to be fold to the Europeans. There were proper Officers, who received the Captives

Captives from the Soldiers hands, and paid them the Value of twenty Shillings Sterling for every Man, in Cowries, (which is a Shell brought from the East Indie and carried in large quantities to Whiday by the Europeans, being the current Mone of all the neighbouring Countries far am near) and ten Shillings for a Woman Boy, or Girl. There were likewise brough by the Soldiers fome thousands of dea Peoples Heads into the Court; every So dier, as he had Success, bringing in h hand one, two, three, or more Hear hanging in a String; and as the prop Officers received them, they paid the So diers five Shillings for each Head: The feveral People carried them away, in o der to be thrown on a great Heap other Heads, that lay near the Cam the Linguist telling us his Majesty desig to build a Monument with them, a the Heads of other Enemies former conquered and killed.

I observed, there were a great many the principal Men of the Court and my prefent, all prostrated on the Groun

none being permitted to go nearer, than within twenty foot of the King's Chair; and whatfoever they had to fay to his Majesty, first kissing the Ground, they whispered into the Ear of an old Woman, who went to the King; and having received his answer, she returned with it to them. His Majesty likewise showed his Liberality to his Courtiers and Officers, in presenting them with at least two hundred Captives. As foon as any perfon had a Slave presented to them, a proper Officer made Proclamation of it, which was immediately echoed by the Populace, who were waiting in great numbers at the King's Gate for the Sacrifices.

After the Business of the Captives was dispatch'd, there came into the Court two Fellows, with a large Tub, that had in it at least fix Gallons of Frumenty, or such like stuff, which they set on the Ground; and then falling on their Knees, they took with their Hands the Victuals out of the Tub, and threw it so fast into their Mouths, that the there was such a Quant i

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quantity of it, they dispatch'd it in a few Minutes. The Linguist told us, this was their daily Practice; but that these Gormandizers lived not many Years, and then others took up their Trade; which

is only in order to divert the King.

After this we faw feveral other things, full as ridiculous as this, which would be tedious for me to relate, as well as to the Reader to peruse; so having been near three Hours in the Court, exposed to the great heat of the Sun, from which we had nothing but Umbrellas to defend us, we desired his Majesty's Leave, to retire to our Tent, which was readily granted; accordingly we paid our Duty in a compliment to the King, and went away. Magad on the along of the total

Sometime after this, we fat down to Dinner in our Tent, being accompanied with a great number of Flies, as formerly mentioned. Just as we had dined, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of Jaqueen, came to us in so great a fright, that af ter he had sat down, he could not speak for some time: And tho' he was at other times times, of a comely black colour, yet now his Countenance was changed to tawny: For as he was coming to our Tent, he saw a great number of poor People going to be facrificed; whose Lamentations had made such an Impression, that it had occasioned this great disorder in him. For the People of the Sea-Coast abhor such things; especially the eating their Bodies afterwards, as the *Dahomes* do. And 'tis not to be imagined, what service the report of this did them, when they first invaded the Countries bordering on the Sea-Coast: On which I shall make a short Digression, to inform the Reader.

Discoursing afterwards with some of the principal People of Ardra and Whidaw, who had escaped the Conqueror's Sword, and telling them, what a Reproach and Disgrace it was to the latter Nation to quit their Country to the Dahomes in so cowardly a manner as they had done; they answered, It was not possible to resist such Cannibals, the very Report of which had extremely intimidated their whole Nation. Whereupon I ob-

I observed to them, It was all one to a dead Carcase, whether it was eaten by their own kind, or by the Vultures, (of which there are great numbers in the Country) on which they shrugged up their Shoulders, faying, "The thoughts of be-" ing eaten by their own Species, were far " more terrible to them, than the Appre-Shenfions of being killed.

But to return again to the Duke, I endeavoured to allay his Fears, by representing to him, we had the King's Promise for our Safety; and that facrificing their Enemies being the usual custom of the Country on any Conquest, he ought not to be fo much surprized at it. But he replied, As to his own Safety he was very doubtful of it, the King not having yet admitted him to an Audience; so he requested he might remain in our Tent, as thinking himself safer with us, and accordingly we granted his request. Then sending for our Linguist, we defired to know, Whether the Dutch Captain and my felf might be admitted to fee the manner of the Sacrifices: (As for the Dutch Writer, he chose

chose to remain in the Tent with the Duke) The Interpreter answered, He would go to the chief Feticheer, or Priest, and know, whether he would be pleased to give us leave. Soon after he returned, and informed us, Leave was granted: So Human we went with him, about a quarter of a Sacrifices. mile from the Camp. There we found great numbers of People gathered together; and our Guard made way for us through the Croud, till we came near four small Stages, which were erected about five foot from the ground. We stood close to them, and observed the Ceremony, which was performed in the following manner. Mos off fol wholl sale

The first Victim we saw, was brought to the side of the Stage. It was a comely old Man, between fifty and sixty Years of Age. His hands were tied behind him; and in his behaviour, he showed a brave and undaunted Mind, nothing like Fear appearing in him. As he stood upright by the Stage, a Feticheer, or Priest, laid his Hand on his Head, saying some words of Consecration, which lasted about

about two Minutes. Then he gave the fign of Execution, to a Man that stood behind the Victim with a broad Sword, who immediately struck him on the nape of the Neck, with such force, that the Head was severed at one Blow, from the Body; whereupon the Rabble gave a great Shout. The Head was cast on the Stage, and the Body, after having lain a little while on the Ground, that the Blood might drain from it, was carried away by Slaves, and thrown in a place adjoining to the Camp. The Linguist told us, the Head of the Victim was for the King; the Blood for the Fetiche, or God; and the Body for the common People. We faw many other Persons sacrificed in this lamentable manner, and observed, That the Men went to the side of the Stages, bold and unconcerned; but the Cries of the poor Women and Children were very moving, and much affected the Dutch Captain and My self, tho' in a different manner: For he expressed his Fears to me, That the Priests might take it into their Heads, to serve us in the same manner, if they should fancy white People would be more acceptable to their God, than persons of their own colour. This notion raised some fear in me, but recollecting my felf, I told him, " As the "King was fo greatly reverenced and " feared, I was in good hopes nothing " would be attempted on us; and that " we ought to put a good face on the " matter, and withdraw from fo terrible " a Sight, the first opportunity." Soon after, a principal Man of the Court came and stood by us, and bid the Interpreter ask us, "How we liked the Sight?" To which we replied, " Not at all: For " our God had expresly forbid us using " Mankind in fo cruel a manner: That " our Curiofity had drawn us to come " and fee it; which if we had not done, " we could never have believed it." Then I asked the Linguist, Whether this Gentleman was accounted a generous good humoured Man? To which the Linguist replying in the affirmative, I ventured to put this Question to him, " That if his " Fate had brought him into the same "Misfortune, as these poor Captives were now in, how he should like it? He readily answered, Not at all. On this I observed to him, that the grand Law both of Whites and Blacks, with all their Fellow Creatures was: To do to others no otherwise, than as they desired to be done unto: And that our God had engined this to us on pain of very severe Punishments." To which he answered This was the Custom of his Country; and so he left us.

Presently after this Gentleman's departure, there came to us a Colonel of the Army, whom we had seen at Jaqueen, the day before we set out on our Journey. This person seemed very friendly and glad to see us, and ready to resolve any Questions we put to him. Amongst the rest, I told him, "That I wondered they should sacrifice so many People, of whom they might otherwise make good advantage, by selling them." He replied, "It had ever been the Custom of their Nation, after any Conquest, to offer to their God a certain number of Cap-

" Captives, which were always chose out " from among the Prisoners, by the King " himself: For they firmly believed, " should this be omitted, no more Suc-" cess would attend them. And he ar-" gued for the Necessity and Usefulness " of their doing it, from the large Con-" quests they had made within a few "Years, without any Defeat." Then I asked him, "Why so many old Men were " facrificed in particular? He answered, " It was best to put them to death; for " being grown wife by their Age and long " Experience, if they were preserved, " they would be ever plotting against their " Masters, and so disturb the Country; " for they never would be easy under " Slavery, having been the chief Men in " their own Land. Moreover, if they " should be spared, no European would buy " them, on account of their Age." I then observed to him, That I had seen several handsome young People facrificed, whom I was fure the Europeans would gladly have bought. He replied, "They were de-" figned to attend in the other World the " King's " King's Wives, whom the Tuffoes their " Countrymen had flain." By which An fwer I found they have a Notion of future State, tho' a very rude one. And this put me upon asking him, What Opi nions they held concerning their God To which he gave a very confused and imperfect Answer; so that all I could ga ther from his Discourse was, That the esteemed him as an invisible Guardia Angel, subordinate to another God; ad ding, "Perhaps that God might b " ours, who had communicated fo man " extraordinary Things to white Men " as he had been informed by Mr. Lamb " But as that God had not been please " to make himself known to them, the must be satisfied with this they wor

" shipped."

By this time the Mob being grown this on the side where we stood, I told the Linguist, we would return to our Tentand I invited the Colonel to go along will us, which he readily promised. Accordingly our Guard having made way so us, we lest this horrible Place and Sight

not having received the least Affront, tho' we were near two Hours by the Stages.

At our return we understood, the King had fent the Duke word, he should have an Audience that Evening; whereupon I endeavoured to cheer him up by telling him, " That we had been civilly used at " the Sacrifices, and that nothing could " more conduce to his Reputation, than " his appearing before the King, in his " usual sprightly Carriage and Behaviour," which was indeed natural to him. On this he went from us to the Great Captain's Tent, in order to prepare himself to go to the Audience. But the Colonel remained with us, drinking merrily of European Liquors, and in the Evening he asked us, "Whether we would take a " walk, and see that Quarter of the Camp " where his Tent stood?" This we readily agreed to, and in our way past by the place where the facrificed Bodies were There were two great heaps of thrown. them, confisting, as they faid, of four hundred Persons, and who had been chose out by the King that very Morning. After

After we had been at the Colonel's Tent, where we were treated with Palm Wine, we returned to our own, being accompanied by him, and we defired him to stay to Supper. While we were eating, several Servants came with Dishes of Flesh and Fish, dress'd after the Country manner, and the Interpreter told us, they were fent by a Mulatto Portuguese Gentleman, who had been taken in the Ardra War. The King had ever fince detained him Prisoner, allowing him a handsome Maintenance, and had given him a Wife much whiter than himfelf who was born in the inland Country. Soon after the Victuals were brought, the Gentleman came himself, with his Wife, to see us; and after passing a handsome Compliment, they sat down to Supper with us. We were very glad of this new Acquaintance, the Dutch Writer speak ing good Portuguese, and my self under standing a little; so that now we judged, we should not be obliged to trust intirely to our Linguist, this Person talking the Language of the Country fluently. I was much

much surprized to see his Wife so white, equal to our English Women, only of not fo lively a Colour. She had woolly Hair, like the blackest of the Natives, with the same Features. Her Husband told us, she was born in a far inland Country, of black Parents, who had never feen a white Man, nor she before Mr. Lambe; whom he enquired affectionately after, faying, " That when he returned, accor-" ding to his Promise to the King, his " Majesty had promised to grant him his " Liberty." Then, on his Importunity, we promised him a Visit at his House; and foon after, he and his Wife, with the Colonel, took their leaves, wishing us a good Night.

The next day, early in the morning, the Duke came to our Tent, and told us, he had, in the night past, a long Audience of the King, who treated him in a kind manner; fo that his Apprehensions of being kill'd and eaten were quite vanished: but he told us with the utmost Horrour, that the sacrificed Bodies had been taken away in the Cannibalsic night by the common People,

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had

had boiled and feasted on them, as holy Food. This Story induced us to fend for our Linguist, and take a walk to the place where we had feen the Carcases the evening before; and, to our great Surprize we found they were all gone. There. upon asking the Interpreter, what was become of them? he replied smiling, the Vultures had eaten them up. I told him "That was very extraordinary indeed " to fwallow Bones and all;" there be ing nothing remaining on the Place, by a great quantity of Blood. So he con fessed, the Feticheers, or Priests, ha divided the Carcases amongst the People who had eat them in the manner the Du had told us. And tho' no doubt this wi appear incredible to many Persons, yet defire they will only make this one Refled on, That those who could be so cruel as facrifice their fellow-Creatures, mig probably carry their Barbarity a Degi further.

However, as I relate nothing for meter of Fact, but what I was an Eye-we ness to, so I shall leave the Reader to go

what credit he pleases thereto. But as a further confirmation of their being Cannibals, I shall relate what I afterwards learn'd from one Mr. Robert More, who was a person of great Integrity, and at that time Surgeon of the Italian Galley. This Ship came to Whidaw whilst I was at Jaqueen, and Captain John Dagge, the Commander, being indisposed, sent More to the King of Dahome's Camp, with Presents for his Majesty. There he saw many strange things, especially human Flesh fold publickly in the great Marketplace. As I was not in the Market during the time I was in the Camp, I faw no fuch thing: But I don't doubt but that I should have seen the same, had I gone into that place, for there were many old and maimed Captives brought from Tuffoe, (besides those sacrificed) which no Europeans would have bought.

But to return from this Digression: On our return to the Tent, we sent our Linguist to the great Captain, to desire he would procure us an Audience from the King, to treat of Business: But he sent

us word, That as his Majesty was very much engaged, we could not be heard that day; there being some Embassadors come from the inland Countries, who were to have an Audience forthwith. On this I sent again to the Great Captain, desiring he would please to be mindful of us, on the first Opportunity; and he was

unexpectedly fo that Afternoon.

Having then nothing to do but fit in our Tent, and make Memorandums of what we heard and faw; we asked the Linguist, "Whether we might, without "Offence, go to see the Mulatto Portu-"guese Gentleman?" Thereupon he consulted with a principal Person belonging to the Court, who often came by the King's Order to us, to enquire if we wanted any thing: And he approving of it, we prepared to go, but first had this Caution given us; that there being two Embassadors in the Camp from the King of Whidaw, to offer his Subjection, if we should meet with any of their People in the Street, we should not hold any Conference with them. Which having promised,

we went to the Portuguese Gentleman's House, who received us very kindly, thinking he could not make us welcome enough; and as we could understand him, we sent our Interpreter away, under pretence of an Errand to the Duke. After he was gone, the first thing we defired of this Gentleman, was, to give us fome hints, how we should behave, when we came to treat of Business with the King; which he readily did, speaking so highly of the King's Policy and Generofity, that we were much surprized, tho' afterwards we experienced the full of what he told us. This Person had in the Court of his House two pretty Horses, each about thirteen hands high, which were every way much better than those we had seen at Jaqueen. Upon our asking him, from whence he had them, he replied, "They " came from the Kingdom of 7-0e; " which lies towards the North-East, " many days Journey off, beyond a great " and famous Lake, which is the Foun-" tain of feveral large Rivers, that " empty themselves into the Bay of Guineas E 4

" nea. And he further added, that feve-" ral fugitive Princes, whose Fathers the King of Dahome had conquered and be-" headed, fled to the King of this Coun-" try for Protection, and at last prevailed " with him to make War on the King " of Dahomè, which he did foon after " the latter had conquered Ardra. The " King of J-oe fent, under the Com-" mand of a General, a great Army of " Horse, consisting of many Thousands, " (for they never use Infantry) where-" with he invaded the Dahomes in their " own Country: On this fudden and un-" expected Invasion, the King of Dahome " marched immediately from Ardra into " his own Kingdom, and made Head " against the J-oes. But as he had none but " Infantry, whose Arms were Guns and 66 Swords, he was hard put to it: For the " Country being open and without Inclo-" fures, the Horsemen, who were armed " with Bows and Arrows, Javelins and cut-" ting Swords, had certainly conquer'd, if " the unusual noise of the Dahome's Fire-" Arms had not so frightned the Horses,

se that

that their Riders could never make a home-Charge on the Enemies Foot.

" However, the Dispute having lasted, at

" times, four days, and the King of Da-

" home finding his Soldiers so fatigued,

that they could hold out but a little

" longer, he contrived this Stratagem:

" he had great quantities of Brandy

" by him, formerly bought at Whidaw,

" which is a principal Commodity the

" French Ships bring there, to exchange

" for Negroes. So the King resolved to

" retreat in the Night with his Army,

" and leave the Liquor as a Bait for the

" Enemy, with great quantities of valu-

" able Goods, which were in store, in a

" large Town near the Camp. When

" Day came, the J-oes thinking the Da-

" homes were fled, fell to plundering and

" destroying the Town, and drinking

" greedily of the Brandy: And as they

" feldom had tasted of that Liquor

" before, it so intoxicated them, that

" they fell asleep in great numbers on the

" Ground. The King of Dahome being

" informed of this by his Spies, returned

" with

" with the utmost speed, and attacking " them while they were in this Disorder, " routed them; but the greater part of " the 7-ves escaped with the help of their " Horses, and fled out of the Country: " However, their Loss was so great, that " the others esteemed it a compleat Vic-" tory. The Portuguese Gentleman ad-" ded, that at the time of this Rout, he " took the two Horses we had seen in his " Yard, and a great many more were " feized at the same time by the Dahome " Soldiers. He said further, (but enjoin-" ed us Secrecy) That tho' the Dahomes " were exceeding proud of this Victory, " they were still much afraid of a second " Invasion, an Army of Horses being " very terrible to them: And that the "King had lately fent great Presents to " the King of 7-0e, to prevent his attack-" ing him a fecond time. However, in case he did it, and they should not be able to withstand them, they comforted " themselves with this Thought, that " they might fave their Persons, by flying to the Sea Coast, to which the 7-oes " durst

" durst not follow them. For as their " national Fetiche was the Sea, they were " prohibited by their Priests from ever " seeing it, under no less a Penalty than " Death; which they made the People " believe, would by their God, if they " were so presumptuous, be inflicted on " them." This last Story seemed nothing strange to us, who had conversed with the Coast Negroes; for they have all their particular Fetiches after the same manner; some being prohibited eating Fowls that have white Feathers; others, on the contrary, are to eat none that have black: Some are to eat no Sheep, others no Goats. And abundance of fuch other fuperstitious Observances they have, which are most religiously kept, being affigned them by the Priest, the Day they have their name given them.

By this time it was past Noon, so we took our leave of the Portuguese, and went to our Tent to Dinner.

About three a Clock that Afternoon, a Audience Messenger came from the great Captain, of the King of

to Dahome.

to inform us, the King had appointed immediately to give us an Audience. This was an agreeable Surprize to us, for now we had hopes of being quickly dispatch'd, so we prepared our selves, and went to the King's Gate, our Presents for his Ma-

jesty being carried before us.

On our coming into the Court, where we had feen the King at our former Audience, we were defired to stay a little, till the Presents were carried into the House, that his Majesty might view them. Soon after we were introduced into a small Court, at the further end of which the King was fitting crofs-legg'd on a Carpet of Silk, spread on the Ground: He was himself richly dress'd, and had but few Attendants. When we approached him, his Majesty enquired in a very kind manner, How we did? ordering we should be placed near him; and accordingly fine Mats were spread on the Ground for us to fit on. Tho' fitting in that Posture was not very eafy to us, yet we put a good Face on the matter, understanding by the Linguist, that it was their Custom.

As foon as we were placed, the King ordered the Interpreter to ask me, What I had to defire of him? To which I anfwered, " That as my Business was to " trade, so I relied on his Majesty's Good-" ness, to give me a quick dispatch, and " fill my Ship with Negroes; by which " means I should return into my own " Country in a short time; where I " should make known how great and " powerful a King I had feen." To this the King replied by the Linguist, " That my defire should be fulfilled: " But the first Business to be settled was " his Customs." Thereupon I defired his Majesty to let me know what he expected? There was a Person then present (I believe on purpose) whose name was Zunglar, a cunning Fellow, who had formerly been the King's Agent for several Years at Whidaw; where I had feen him in my former Voyages. To him I was referred to talk about the Affair. So Zunglar told me, " his Master being re-" folved to encourage Trade, tho' he was " a Conqueror, yet he would not impose

" a greater Custom than used to be paid "to the King of Whidaw." I answered. " As his Majesty was a far greater Prince. " fo I hoped he would not take fo much." This Zunglar not replying readily to, and the King observing it, (for the Linguist told him every word that pass'd between us) His Majesty himself replied. "That as he was the greater Prince, he " might reasonably expect the more Cus-" tom; but as I was the first English Cap-" tain he had seen, he would treat me as " a young Wife or Bride, who must be " denied nothing at first." Being furprized at this turn of Expression, I told the Linguist, " I was afraid he imposed on me, and interpreted the King's words " in too favourable a manner." His Majesty observing I spoke with some Sharpness, asked him what I said? Which the Linguist having told him, his Majesty smiled, and expressed himself again to the same purpose: Adding, " I should find " his Actions answerable to his Words." Being greatly encouraged by the King's gracious Expressions towards me, I took the

the Liberty to represent to his Majesty, " That the best way to make Trade flou-" rish, was to impose easy Customs, and " to protect us from the Thievery of the "Natives, and the Impositions of great " Men; which the King of Whidaw not " doing, had greatly hurt the Trade. For " the ill usage the Europeans had met " with of late from him and his People, " had caused them to send fewer Ships " than formerly they did. And tho' " a large Custom might seem at first " for his Majesty's Advantage, yet it would " foon be found, that a great number of " Ships would thereby be hindred from " coming to trade; so that in this respect " he would lose far more in General, " than he would gain by that Particular."

The King took what I said in good part, telling me, "I should name my "own Custom," which I at first declined: But being prest to do it a second time, I told the Linguist to ask his Majesty, "Whether he would be pleased to take "one half of what we used to pay at "Whidaw?" To this the King readily agreed;

agreed; adding, "He defigned to make "Trade flourish; and I might depend " upon it, he would prevent all Imposs-" tions, and Thievery, and protect the " Europeans that came to his Country, " faying, that his God had made him " the Instrument to punish the King of " Whidaw, and his People, for the many " Villanies they had been guilty of to-" wards both Whites and Blacks: That " the Embassadors now in his Camp from " the faid King, had informed him of " me and my Character, and that by the " account they had given him of my " former dealings in their Country, he " could put much Confidence in me." Then his Majesty having asked me divers Questions concerning our former ill usage in the Country of Whidaw, to which I answered as I thought proper; I took this Opportunity of pleading for the common People of that Kingdom; representing, "It was the great Men amongst " them that had encouraged their thiev-" ing, in which they shared: But if his " Majesty would be pleased to receive

ce them

" them to Mercy, and restore them to " their Country, on paying a certain "Tribute, they would be of great ad-" vantage to him; because they were " very industrious in cultivating the Land, " and many of them understood Trade " exceeding well, which his own People " were little versed in. Moreover it was " a Maxim amongst the white Princes, " that the number of useful Subjects was " their greatest Glory and Strength; and " if his Majesty thought the same, he " had an opportunity of adding many " hundreds of thousands to his former " Vassals." To this the King replied, " He was sensible of the truth of what I " alledged, but that the Conquest of " Whidaw could not be secured, till he " had the King's Head; and he had al-" ready offered the People to restore " them to their Country, as foon as they " should fend him alive or dead to his " Camp." I did not think proper, on hearing this, to fay any thing more on the matter, or observe to his Majesty, how wrong a Policy it was, to oblige Subjects Subjects to act so villanous a part towards their Sovereign. For as the Cuftom of these black Princes was little known to us, I was afraid of giving offence: So I only answered, "That as the King of Whidaw was on an Island " by Popoe, with many thousands of his " People, the rest that were dispersed up " and down the Country in the Bushes, " could not possibly perform what his " Majesty required of them: For if they were ever fo ready to do it, yet having or no Cannoes to ferry over to the Island, it was not in their Power to take the " King from thence; and that I believed if he did not receive them to Mercy " quickly, the far greater part of them " would perish by Famine."

Account of Bull-finch Lambe.

After this his Majesty fell into a variety of Discourse, and amongst other things complained of Mr. Lambe, (who, as I have related in the beginning of this Book, had been taken Prisoner in the Ardra War,) saying, "That tho' he had given him, at his leaving the Court, three hundred and twenty ounces of Gold,

" Gold, with eight Slaves, and made him, " promise with a solemn Oath to return " again in a reasonable time, yet twelve " Moons had now pass'd, and he had " heard nothing from him: Adding, He " had fent a black Person with him, whose name was Tom, one who had " been made a Prisoner at the same time, being a Jaqueen-man, who spoke good " English; and this Man he had ordered " to return again with Mr. Lambe, that " he might be informed, whether what " that Gentleman had reported concerning our King, Customs, and manner of "Living was true." To this I replied, "That I had no personal Knowledge of " Mr. Lambe, but had been informed, " before I left England, that he went " from Whidaw to Barbadoes, which is " a Plantation where the English employ " their Slaves in making Sugar, and which is at a great distance from our " own Country; But I hoped he would " prove an honest Man, and return again " to his Majesty, according to his Pro-" mise and Oath."

To this the King replied, "Tho he "proved not as good as his Word, other white Men should not fare the worse on that account; for as to what he had given Lambe, he valued it not a Rush; but if he returned quickly, and came with never so large a Ship, she should be instantly filled with Slaves, with which he might do what he thought proper.

Account of the black Man.

It may not be improper here to give a short account of the black Man the King mentioned to me, because he was in England last year, and the Affair was brought before the Lords of Trade, by whom I was examined about him.

Mr. Lambe carried this Person to Barbadoes, and several other Places, but a last left him with a Gentleman in Maryland. Afterwards Mr. Lambe trafficked for some Years, from one place to another in the Plantations; and coming the Island of Antegoa, where I had been in the year 1728, and told the foregoing story to some Gentlemen, and how kinds the King of Dahome had express'd himsel

with

with regard to the faid Mr. Lambe, being by them informed of it, this induced him to return to Maryland; and the Gentleman who had Tom in his Custody was so good, as to deliver him again to Mr. Lambe, who came with him to London, the beginning of the year 1731.

Mr. Lambe, soon after his arrival, came to fee me at my house, enquiring particularly about what I had related at Antegoa; which I confirmed to him. Then he defired my Advice about his going back to the King of Dahomè. To this I frankly answered, " It was my opinion, he had miss'd the opportunity, by not returning in a reasonable time, accor-" ding to his promise; several years be-" ing now pass'd fince he came from " thence, and the State of Affairs much " altered for the worse: Besides, he " might justly fear the King's resentment, " as Mr. Testesole had experienced lately " to his cost, for abusing his Goodness; " for tho' he was Governour for the " African Company at Whidaw, yet he " had been put to death in a cruel " manner. F 3

On this he left me; and the next news I heard, was, That Mr. Lambe had delivered a Letter to his Majesty King George as from the King of Dahome, which being referred to the Lords of Trade, the Merchants trading to the Coast of Guinea were sent for; and I being ordered to attend, informed their Lordships of what I knew of the matter.

The report from the Lords of Trade was to this Purpose, "That the Letter "in their opinion was not genuine, but "that the black Man ought to be taken "care of, and returned to his King:" Accordingly he was put into the hands of the African Company, who took care of him for many Months; but he growing impatient, applied to their Graces the Dukes of Richmond and Montague, who procured him a Passage on board his Majesty's Ship the Tiger Captain Berkeley, then bound to the Coast of Guinea.

Moreover, their Lordships having shewed him great Kindness, most generously fent by him several rare Presents to his King, which, no doubt, will make a good

impression

impression on him in favour of our Nation; and I have lately heard, that on his being put on Shore at Whidaw, he was forthwith sent to the King, who was then in his own Country of Dahome, and was received graciously by him: That his Majesty sent down handsome Presents for Captain Berkeley, but before the Messengers got to Whidaw, he was sailed, not having patience to wait so many days, as the return from so far inland a place required.

I had not made this Digression, but only to set this Affair in a true light; and undeceive those that may read this Book, and were so far imposed upon, as to suppose the Black Man to have been an Embassador from the King of Dahome, to his Majesty King George. I met with several that believed so, till I satisfied them of the contrary; for the jest was carried on so far, that several Plays were acted on his Account, and it was advertised in the News-Papers, that they were for the Entertainment of Prince Adomo Oroonoko Tomo, &c. these jingling Names being invented to carry on the Fraud the better. This

This black Person was born at Jaqueen, and being from a Boy conversant with the English trading there, learned so well our Language, that he was employed by them, when grown up, as an Interpreter.

He happen'd to be at Ardra on some business, at the time that Country was conquered, and so became Prisoner to the King of Dahomè. But 'tis time to have done with this Story, and go on where I left off.

After this Discourse concerning Mr. Lambe was over, I acquainted the King that I daily expected another Ship belonging to my Owner, (who had five large Ships that used the Whidaw Trade in particular) and I hoped his Majesty would not take more Custom from the Commanders of them, than he had been pleased to take of me. To which he answered with a Smile, "That it was a "particular Grace to my self. However when any of them came, they should be used kindly in that matter, and the Captains might stay at Jaqueen and Whidaw

"Whidaw as they thought fit, for that " he now was Lord of both places." And then his Majesty asked me, "Whether " I would chuse the Slaves that were " now in the Camp, or have them first " fent down to Jaqueen?" To which I answered, " I chose the latter; desiring " the King would now please to fix the " Price, with other matters." Accordingly Zunglar was called again, to inform his Majesty, what were the last Prices the Europeans had paid for Negroes at Whidaw, before the Conquest: But on my representing, That the Price had been raised there, much above what had been customary, on account of the War; the King moderated it himself, and I writ down with my Pencil, in his presence, every thing agreed on: Amongst which one was, That I should have three Males to one Female, and take none but what I liked. The reason of my mentioning this, is to explain more fully what happened to me afterwards, on account of these two Articles.

After this was done, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of Jaqueen, was sent for and the King recommended me to the care of them both, declaring, "If I suffer fered by their People, either in Person of Goods, he and his Brother should answer for it: Moreover, if any Person stole my Goods, and could be taken, his Majest ordered, they should be impaled alived on the Sea side, for an Example to the Porters, and others that bring our Merson chandise from thence to the Town.

By this time it was near nine a clock at night, and the Linguist was ordered by the King to tell us, his time of washing was come; so we rose up in order to take our leaves, humbly thanking his Majesty for all his Favours, and for his great Goodness towards us, in giving us so long an Audience; desiring he would be pleased to permit us to return next day to faqueen: adding, I hoped God would give him many Days, for the good of his own People, and of the European that should come to his Country. The King thanked us for our good Wishes, saying,

faying, he would dispatch us the next day, and then we paid our Respects, and so parted.

As we were almost five hours so near the King, I had a good opportunity of taking an exact View of him. He was middle-fized, and full bodied; and, as hear as I could judge, about forty five years old: His Face was pitted with the Small Pox; nevertheless, there was something in his Countenance very taking, and withal majestick. Upon the whole, I found him the most extraordinary Man of his Colour, that I had ever conversed with, having feen nothing in him that appeared barbarous, except the facrificing of his Enemies; which the Portuguese Gentleman told me, he believed was done out of Policy; neither did he eat human Flesh himself.

Being made easy in all respects by this Audience, we returned to our Tent, and spent the evening cheerfully, the Mulatto Portuguese, with several Courtiers supping with us. The next morning we were sent for again to the King's Gate, and the Officers

Officers told us, " It being the King's Etiche-day, his Majesty could not se us; but that he had ordered them to " present us with something in his name " adding, I might depend on what had er been promised me, and that we were " at Liberty to go for Jaqueen when we " pleased:" Our black Servants had like wife handsom Clothes given them to wear about their middle; (according to the custom of the Negroes, who never cover more than that part) with a small sun of Money to each of them, which made them very jocund, and almost forget the fear they had been put in at the fight of the Sacrifices.

This being over, our servants carried the Presents to our Tent, which consisted of Slaves, Cows, Goats and Sheep, with other Provisions: And then we went to the great Captain's Tent, to take our leave of him. There we found the Duke who told us, he could not have his Audience of leave from the King till the Evening; and earnestly desired us not to go without him; for that he would certainly

tainly accompany us the next Morning to Jaqueen. Tho' the Dutch Gentlemen and my self were very desirous of going before, yet we could not in honour leave the Duke; so we consented to stay for him, and went to our Tent to Dinner.

In the Afternoon, the Linguist came and told us, that the remainder of the Army, who had been plundering the Country of Tuffoe, were returning; and asked us, whether we would go and see them pass by the King's Gate? We went accordingly to that place, and foon after they appeared, marching in a much more regular Order than I had ever feen before, even amongst the Gold Coast Negroes; who were always esteemed amongst the Europeans that used the Coast of Guinea, the best Soldiers of all the Blacks. I obferved, this Army confifted of about three thousand regular Troops, attended by a Rabble of ten thousand at least, who carried Baggage, Provisions, dead Peoples Heads, &c. The feveral Companies of Soldiers had their proper Colours, and Officers, being armed with Musquets and cutting

they passed by the King's Gate, every Soldier prostrated himself, and kissed the Ground; then rose with such agility, a was very surprizing. The place before the King's Gate was four times as large as Tower Hill; there they performed their Exercises, in the sight of innumerable Spectators, and fired at least twenty round with their small Arms, in less than two hours time: Then, by the General's Order, the Soldiers retired to the part of the Camp they belonged to. This sight was well worth seeing even by us Europeans.

I took notice, that abundance of Boy followed the Soldiers, and carried the Shields; and asked the Linguist, "What" was the occasion of it? He told me, That the King allowed every common Soldies a Boy at the publick charge, in order to be trained up in Hardships from the Youth; and that the greatest part of the present Army consisted of Soldiers, bred up in this manner, and under this Estate blishment." By which I judged, it was

no wonder the King had made fo large Con-

quests,

quests, with such regular Troops, and his Policy together.

After this Sight was over, we went again to the great Captain's, whose eldest Son had been General in the Expedition against the Tuffoes. The Mulatto Portuquese Gentleman being then present, advised us to go and pay our Compliments to this Commander. Accordingly we went, and were received by him with great Civility; and having presented him with fome Trifles, wherewith he was highly delighted, we returned to his Father's Tent. After a short stay, telling him we were afraid we should not set out for Jaqueen the next day, he affured us we should certainly go the next morning early; and that he would accompany us part of the way: which Promife was highly pleasing to us, for we were quite tired of the Camp: Moreover my Business very much required my presence at Jaqueen, in order to begin trading. I observed in the Great Captain's Tent two black Gentlemen, who had long Gowns on, with a Cloth wreathed about their Heads.

Heads, like a Turkish Turbant, and San dals on their Feet. This being a Dre I had never feen before amongst the N groes, I inquired of the Linguist, w they were? He replied, "They we " Malayes, which is a Nation far inlan " bordering on the Moors; and that the " People were equal to the white Me " in one thing, namely in writing: The " at this time there was about forty " them in the Camp, who had been ken at several times in war, as the " traded from one Country to another " and that the King treated them kind " for they had the Art of dying Goata " Sheep-skins with divers Colours, while " they made into Cartouch-boxes for t " Soldiers; and also into Bags to ho " loose powder, and for many other use I was defirous of discoursing with the People, but the Linguist declined it, sa ing, " It would give offence to the Gre " Captain:" So we went from hence! take our leave of the Mulatto Portugui Gentleman, and afterwards to our Te to supper, and slept all night in of Hammocks.

Next Morning we rose early, and prepared for our Journey. As foon as all our things were in order, we fent the Duke word, that we waited for him. The Messenger returned forthwith, and defired us to go to the great Captain's Tent, where we should find the Duke and his People all ready for going. Accordingly we went, but the Ceremony of taking leave of feveral great Men, who came to wish us a good Journey, detained us till nine a clock in the Morning: And then we fet out; the mufical Instruments of the Negroes making a great noise at our Departure. The great Captain, according to his Promise, accompanied us for an hour on the Road, and then took his leave under a Salute of Fire-Arms from his Soldiers, and our Servants. Our Hammock-men had no need of being press'd to make haste, and travel fast: For the Impression made on their Minds by the facrificing the poor People of Tuffoe, still so much affected them, that they ran full speed with us, even beyond their Strength; so that by five a clock in the Eventurn to Faqueen.

The Au- Evening, they brought us into Jaqueen Town, where the People received us with much Joy, having been under great apprehensions for our Safety, because we stayed longer than was expected.

> The next day, being the 15th of April 1727, I paid the King of Dahome's Officers the Custom agreed on; and in two days after, a great many Slaves came to Town, being fent by his Majesty for me to chuse such as I liked of them: Which having done, I offered to pay the Lord of Jaqueen his usual Duties, but he infisted on a larger Custom than my Surgeon had agreed for with him at our first coming: So I refused to pay it, and put him in mind of the Injunction the King of Dabome had fent him by his Brother. put him in a Passion, and he asked me sternly, Whether I defigned to bring War on him, by informing the Conqueror of what he demanded? This being a tender Point, and hoping Time and Patience might bring him to do me Justice, I took my leave of him: For I had been told, it was not possible, no more than prudent,

to engage any one to go with a Complaint to the King of Dahome; for the Messenger would certainly be murdered on the Road by the Jaqueens. Moreover, I was informed, they and their Lord had fent their beloved Wives and best Effects to an Island, which is about thirty Miles to the Eastward of Jaqueen on the Sea-Coast, and under the Protection of the King of Appah, whose Country extends as far as the Bay of Bennin. And as they durst not trust intirely to the Conqueror's Faith and Promises, so the Men were always ready to fly there themselves, on the least appearance of Hostility: There they could be in safety, the Dahomes not having Cannoes to follow them, or if they had, none amongst them understanding the Management of them.

A few days after the Lord of Jaqueen had refused to take his usual Customs, another difficulty arose; for the Porters resulted to bring up my Goods from the Sea side, except I would pay them double the price I did at my first coming. Thereupon I sent my Complaint to their Lord,

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who

who acknowledged it was a great Impo. fition, but he fent me word, " It was not " in his Power to oblige those forto " People to do me Justice; for by the " stranding of the Dutch Ship, they had " got fo many Goods, that it had mad " them rich and proud; and should he g " about to force them to bring up m " Goods at the usual rates, they would " forthwith quit the Country, and fly " Appah." Being in these melancho Circumstances, imposed on by all hand and without hopes of redress, an acciden relieved me very unexpectedly. For few days after this, the Lord of the plan fent for me; and going to him, he to me, " He had just then received Advia " that an English Ship was arrived in the " Road of Whidaw; and he defired " would fend my Boat there, to perfual " the Captain to come to Jaqueen." answered, "I did not doubt but that Sh " was the Italian Galley, Captain Day who was known to him; for I h " expected him some time, his Ship of longing to the same Gentleman

" mine did: But fince I had received " such bad usage from him and his Peo-" ple, he could not expect I would be so " imprudent as to advise the Captain, " who was in the same Interest with me, " to come and receive the like Treat-" ment: Adding, If I fent my Boat, it " should be to desire Captain Dagge to " stay at Whidaw, and send a Messenger " to the King of Dahomè, to represent " the usage I had met with from him; " tho', to let him fee how loth I was to " give any Offence that way, I should " intirely forget what was past, if he " would make me eafy." This immediately brought him to do me Justice: He took his usual Custom that very day, and the following went himself to the Sea side, to the Towns where the Porters lived, and perfuaded them to carry my Goods at the usual rates.

Soon after this I received a Letter from Captain Dagge, desiring I would let him know how Affairs stood at Jaqueen. Having informed him of all matters, he concluded, it would be for our Owner's In-

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terest

terest if he stayed at Whidaw, where he had great Success; for that People being in a starving Condition, and obliged to fell their Servants and Children for Money and Goods, to buy Food from their Neigh. bours of Popoe; his Ship was foon filled with Negroes, and he had the good fortune to fail from the Coast three days before me. Not long after the Arrival of Captain Dagge, I was taken ill of a Fever; my Surgeon, a very eminent Man for Trade as well as his Profession, died in few days after my being taken ill; and the rainy Season coming on, my white People both on board and on Shore grew fickly; and to add to my Misfortunes, the King of Dahome's Traders began to grow troublesome and imposing. Indeed I had one Comfort in this Distress; namely, that tho' I was two days together without a white Man in the Factory with me, (occasioned by the Sickness) yet I had nothing stole from me, which I believe was owing to the fevere Charge given by the King to the Lord of Jaqueen and his Brother, to take care of me and my Goods, But

But as to the King of Dahome's Traders, when I objected to them my Agreement with their Master, producing the Writing I had made in his Presence, and calling the Linguist to witness, that I was not to take any Slaves but fuch as I liked; yet it signified nothing: For tho' the Interpreter was so honest as to own it, yet he was as imposing as any other, pretending the King's Orders for what they did. Nay, I began at last not to think my self safe, one of the Traders being fo infolent as to present his Fusil at me, for refusing to take his bad Slaves. For tho' they came to trade, yet they were always armed with Sword and Dagger, and a Boy carried their Gun for them. These People were far different from the Traders we used to deal with at Whidaw: For these came always in a modest manner to deal with us, and tho' fometimes I owed them Goods on my Notes for ten days together, because the badness of the Sea prevented our landing them; yet they shewed no Uneafiness about it: Whereas, on the contrary, these Dahome Traders would G 4 come

come ten times a day with their Notes; tho' they were sensible the Sea was so great on the Shore, that we could land no Goods. And when I expostulated with them, about the needless trouble they gave me and themselves, in coming fo often to me to read their Notes; it not being in my Power to pay them, 'till I could get goods landed; they angrily replied, " They did not like a bit of Paper for their Slaves, because the writing " might vanish from it; or else the Notes " might be loft, and then they should " lose their Payment." Upon that I used to shew them my Book, telling them their Notes were entered therein, and should they lose them by any Accident, yet I would pay them by my Book: And as to the writing it would never go of the Paper; but this did no ways fatisfy them.

About this time several Portuguese Ships arrived in the Road of Whidaw, and stay'd there, on a prospect of the Country's being settled again; for the King of Dahome had permitted a great number of the common

common People to return, and they began to build them Houses near the English and French Forts. But some time after it appeared, that it was only done to deceive the Europeans. However the King of Dahomè being desirous of the Portuguese. Gold, which they bring to purchase Negroes with, his Majesty sent a great many Slaves down to Whidaw, which made Trade dull with us at Jaqueen. For tho' formerly great Numbers came to this place, from other Nations now destroyed by the Dahomes, there remains at present only one Country called Lucamee, lying towards the North-East, for the Jaqueens to trade to. Which Nation, by means of a wide River, has escaped being made a Conquest to the barbarous and cruel Dahomes. As I was in this melancholy state, one day, my old Acquaintance the Captain (who had been so civil to me at the Camp) came to visit me; and the Linguist not being in the way, I made use of a little black Boy, who spoke pretty good English, and was entertained by me in the Factory as a Servant, to be my Intergnivar 5

Interpreter; ordering him to tell the Captain my Grievances, for which he feemed concerned. He told me he was a warlike Person, and so had no Knowledge of the Affairs of the Traders; but he was confident the Jaqueens were not tolerated in fuch things by the King. Then I bid the little Boy further inform him, That the Traders very much imposed upon the military Gentlemen of his Country, in felling them Muskets bought out of the French Factory, for the fake of a small Present. These being made in imitation of English Arms, were sent to the King, as if bought from me, by which means a bad repute was brought on our Arms; because the French Guns split in firing, and hurt the Soldiers; which is owing to their not being proved as ours are, with a good load of Gunpowder, before they are put into a Stock and finished. I observed, this very much moved him, so I made him a Present of some things, with a promise of a greater Reward, if he would go to the King, and let his Majesty know my Complaints. So having

having confidered the matter a little while, he agreed to go, charging the little Boy to keep the thing fecret, on pain of being put to cruel Torments if he divulged it; and I foon after experienced the good Effects of his Journey.

The People of Jaqueen, as I mentioned before, were in very uneafy Circumstances. The King of Dahome being informed of it, resolved to send the great Captain to their Lord, to settle all things to their Satisfaction. The Captain my Friend being got to the Camp before the Great Captain set out, and acquainting the King with my Complaints, it much incenfed him against the Traders, and he caused the great Captain to go forthwith to Jaqueen, to settle all matters. He made fuch haste, that he brought the first news of his coming himself; and because he had a great Retinue, on the first report of hisarrival, the Inhabitants of Jaqueen were going to fly to Appah; believing he was come in a hostile manner: But he soon made them easy, ordering the far greater part of his People to remain on the other fide fide of the River, which runs on the back part of the Town; and he came only with one hundred Attendants into the place. Upon the first notice of his coming, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of Jaqueen, went to receive him; and all the white Gentlemen in the Town, both Merchants and Commanders of Ships, affembled at the Door of the Dutch Factory, to falute him as he pass'd by that House. He was conducted to the Duke's Court, with all the Honours the place could possibly afford. His Retinue was lodged near my Factory, which proved a great disturbance to me; for they made a dismal noise with their musical Instruments, both night and day; but on my complaining of it, they were afterwards removed.

It feems the Great Captain, at his first coming into the Town, had given orders to some of his Officers, to seize all the Dahomè Traders. But by means of some Friend they had in their Retinue, notice was given them; whereupon several of them sted. However, about ten were seized,

'seized, and immediately sent in Irons to the King: And the Duke, brother to the Lord of Jaqueen, told me afterwards, " That when the Great Captain began " to talk of Business with him, the first " Question he asked, was, Whether the " Traders had used me ill? To which he " replied in the affirmative; Adding, He " was in my Factory, when one of them " presented his Piece at me, because I " refused to buy the bad Slaves brought " by him." The great Captain upon that asked him, " Why he suffered me to be fo used? To which the Duke answered, " That not only he himself, but his Bro-" ther, had been treated by them with " great Infolence; and that they were " afraid to refent it, for fear they should " represent their Actions in a bad Light " to the King." On this account the Great Captain said, they had talked enough upon that Point.

We understood afterwards, that this great Man, at his return to the King, acquainting him with the Misbehaviour of the Traders, his Majesty ordered the Per-

fon who presented his Piece at me, to be beheaded, with another, who had highly insulted me at the same time: And the others were kept in bonds, sed only with Bread and Water; and whenever it rained, they were put out into the Prison Court, and exposed till it had done raining. By this I sound, that the Traders and the Linguist had shamefully belied the King; however, in Prudence I did not think set to complain of the Interpreter, but only chid him in private; at which he was so frighted, that he left me, when the great Captain returned to their King.

The next day after this Great Man's arrival, all the white Gentlemen in the place went to wait on him at the Duke's House, carrying him Presents; and I went amongst the rest. Upon my taking leave, I invited him to dine with me at my Factory the next day. He came accordingly with many Attendants, one of whom he admitted with the Duke, to sit at Table with us. He seemed to be much pleased with the Victuals, especially with a Ham; and was much surprized when I told him,

it was part of a Hog that had been killed fix Months ago. I was fo much diverted to fee him handle a Fork, which it feems he had never used before, that I could hardly keep my Countenance, fo aukwardly did he manage it. Amongst other dishes there was brought to the Table a Pye of minced meat. Of this he eat greedily, asking me, " How it was pre-" pared?" I told him the manner; ad-"ding it was done by my Wife, and be-"ing put up in earthen Pans, it would " keep in fo hot a Country as this was, " for fix Months at least." He then askme, How many Wives I had? "I told him " we were allowed by our Laws but one; on which he fell a laughing, faying, "He had five hundred, and wished fifty " of them could prepare fuch meat for "him as mine had done." After this the Servants brought Bananas, with other Fruit of the Country, on Delft Plates. These Plates he was much taken with, and defired I would give him that he eat on, with the Knife, Fork, and Napkin he used. I told him he was welcome to

all on the Table: Of which the Linguish had no sooner informed him, but he spoke to his Servants, and they immediately swept all away, so suddenly, that they had like to have broke all the Plates, but they luckily escaped. I put on a good Face of the matter, tho' I was something surprized to be so soon taken at my work with the manner of it; so I said to him if I would present him surther with some if Mugs and Cups, which I called for."

I had almost forgot to relate anoth Circumstance, full as odd as this. Whe we first sat down to dinner, some of principal Servants who stood behind the Chair, would every now and then shad off his Plate, a Slice of Ham or Fow and observing he did not rebuke them it, I bid the Linguist tell him, "His wants should not want for Victuals ter we had dined; for it was not white Peoples custom, to let the Guests Attendants go home hungs so he ordered them to be quiet for future.

After dinner we drank both our Kings healths, and he grew very merry, preferring Punch to other Liquors. When he took his leave of me in the Evening, he express'd great Satisfaction at his Entertainment: Moreover he told me, "He " defign'd to go and fee the Sea the next " day, (which was about three Miles " off) and as he had never yet seen it, " nor a Ship, he should be glad of my " Company." But I was obliged to excuse my self, on account of my late Illness, from which I was not perfectly recovered. So I told him, "I would " order my Officer in the Tent, to enter-" tain him in the best manner he could; " and if he would be pleased to go on " board my Ship to fee her, all possible " Care should be taken of him.

I must now leave this great Man for a while, and give an Account of a remarkable thing that happen'd whilst he was at the Sea side. For the right understanding of it, the Reader is to know, That a few days before the great Captain came to Jaqueen, the Linguist brought me two Hermale

Female Negroes, faying, "The King de-" fired, I would buy them, and promife "I would not let them be redeemed by " any one that should offer to do it:" After I had viewed these Women, one of which was turned of fifty, and the other about twenty Years old, I told the Linguist, " The first was past her Labour, " and not for my purpose; but I would " buy the other." He replied, "He " could not part them; adding, It would " highly oblige the King if I took them " both:" But suspecting he made use of the King's Name, to get rid of an old Woman, I refused it, and he carried them away. I little fuspected then what would happen to this poor Creature, which I shall presently relate.

The great Captain, as he had told me, went the next day to the Sea side, accompanied by abundance of People who came from the inland Country, which indeed they daily did in great Numbers, to see so rare a sight, now the ways were open to them. There lay then at Anchor, in the Road of Jaqueen, the Katherine Gal-

ley which I commanded, being a fine Ship of near three hundred Tuns burthen; and two Portuguese Vessels. This exceedingly furprized him, fight well as did the Sea, which came rolling and roaring with its Billows on the Shore; fo that he stood for some time fixed as if he had been a Statue, till he heard the Guns fired from the Katherine, wherewith I had ordered him to be faluted, on a fignal made from our Tent. Being by the Noise of the Guns roused out of his Astonishment, my Officer then invited him to go to the Tent to dinner, which he readily accepted. Whilst he was at dinner, he could not fit still three minutes together, his Curiofity still prompting him to go and look on the Sea and Ships.

As the Water near the Shore is very shallow, our Boats cannot approach nearer than within two Cables length, so that we are obliged to make use of Cannoes, which draw much less Water than our Boats, to land our Goods: And also the fresh Water for the Ship's use, is rafted

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in Casks by Ropes from the Boats. The great Man was fo pleased with the fight. that he went too near the Sea to fee it; in which instant a Wave coming with great force, reached him fo, that with the furprize he fell on his back; by which Accident some falt Water got into his Stomach. His Servants feeing him fall, immediately run to his Assistance; and taking him up, carried him to our Tent, where he drank half a pint of Brandy, to qualify the falt Water he had swallowed Tho' he had met with this mifchance, he stay'd at the Tent till the Evening, and then left the place with reluctance, to come to Town; fo much delighted was he with this fight. It was about nine a clock at night when he returned to Jaqueen, being usher'd in with the hideous noise of their musical Instruments, and the Acclamations of the People.

Soon after, one of his principal Servants, together with the Linguist, came to me, saying, "The Great Man had sent them "to return me thanks for the kind Enter-

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" tainment he had received at my Tent;

" that he defigned to fet out next day

" for the King's Camp, and should be

" glad to fee me before he went."

The Servant being gone, the Linguist told me in private, " That the oldest " Woman whom I had refused to buy, " had that day been facrificed to the Sea, " by order of the great Captain. For " she had highly offended the King, " and as I would not take her, his Ma-" jesty had ordered her to be destroyed " this way, in the room of another Victim " that was defigned for the same Purpose." Iasked him, What Crimes she had committed? He replied hastily, " Did I think " he knew the King's Secrets? adding, " She had lived a long time in the Court, " with good Repute till now." I then wish'd in my mind I had bought her; but only faid to the Linguist, " I won-" dered he should have a hand in such " Cruelty, having been bred up amongst " white People. To which he answered, " Great Mens Commands were not " to be disputed, especially there being

" no one but himself of the Dahomes, " that durst go off in a Cannoe with her." Whereupon he told me the following Story; " The Woman's Hands being tied " behind her, and her Feet across, she " was put into the Cannoe, and carried " off about half a Mile from the " Shore: And then he ordered the Row. " ers to throw her over board; which " they had no fooner done, but he faw " fome Sharks (voracious Fishes very " common in those Seas) tear her to pie-" ces in an instant." On hearing this Account I pitied the Fate of this poor Creature, for I intirely credited the Story, knowing full well the Barbarity of those People. But the next day I was greatly furprized, with a Letter from my chief Mate, informing me, that the Woman was on board our Ship: Which happened in this manner. It feems, neither my People at the Tent, nor those in our Boats, which lay at the Moorings near the Shore, knew any thing of the real occafion of the Cannoe's going off. For the Woman was put very privately into the Cannoe,

Cannoe. They only thought the Linguist was gone, with a defign to fee fome of the Ships. When he came on shore again, one of our Boats went just then from the Moorings, in order to go on board our Ship. Being got about half way, the Officer in the Boat spied something floating on the Sea, which at his coming nearer, he perceived to be a human Body lying on its back; and now and then fpurting Water out at the Mouth. showing it was still living, he ordered it to be taken into the Boat, being bound in the same manner as the Linguist had told me. Immediately they untied this poor Woman, chafed her Limbs, and rolled her Body about, whereupon the discharged a good quantity of falt Water out of her Mouth. Then they carried her on board the Ship, not knowing in the least the occasion of her being in the Sea, and extremely wondering she had escaped the Sharks, who are usually so voracious, that when a dead Person is thrown overboard, or a living one falls into the Sea by Accident, they are in an instant torn to pieces

by those voracious Animals. So that this poor Creature seemed to have a miraculous Escape; and the knowledge of the greediness of these Sharks, I suppose, induced the Linguist to tell me, that he actually saw her torn to pieces; verily believing it would so happen, which his Fears would not let him stay to see, on account of the great swell the Billows of the Sea had at that time.

Upon my receiving the abovement oned account from the Mate, tho' pleas'd with the safety of the poor Woman, yet it filled me with Apprehensions, if the King of Dahome should come to know it: For he might pretend, his Fetiche, or God, being disappointed of this Sacrifice by us, would revenge it on me, or at least oblige me to make up the Affair with large Presents. So having considered of the matter, I writ to the chief Mate, to charge our People to keep the thing fecret; it being of the utmost Consequence to us all to do it: Which they accordingly did. Some time after, going on board the Ship, I examined this Woman by the Linguist, but she would never confess the reason of the King's displeasure against her; alledging she knew not that she had in any respect offended him. However, I found by the Linguist, that he suspected, it was on account of her assisting some of the King's Women in their Amours.

This Woman being a fenfible Person. did us good service in the Voyage. For she was known to several of the Negroes on board, and by her talking to and advifing them, made them easy in their Minds: She observed to them, amongst other things, " That as we had shown " fuch Kindness to her, first in saving her " Life, and fince in taking care of her, " who might be reckoned an useless Per-" fon to us, on account of her Age; fo " they had all the reason in the World " to believe we were much better people " than their own Countrymen; and that " the strange Stories they had been for-" merly told of white People, must be " false." The female Negroes, who used always to be the most troublesome to us, on account of the noise and clamour they made, were kept in such Order and Decorum by this Woman, that I had never the like in any Voyage before: And when I came to Antegoa, Charles Dunbar Esq. Surveyor General of Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands, on my Recommendation, bought her, and I was not a little pleased she had got so generous and good a Master.

But to return again to the great Captain: When he was ready to depart from Jaqueen, all the Europeans in the Place waited on him to the fide of the River, that runs on the back part of the Town. Upon taking leave I told him, " I wanted " but eighty Negroes to compleat my Car-" go," and he promised he would acquaint the King with it; and I might be fure his Majesty would send them down to me forthwith. However, this did not happen according to my Expectation; for I understood afterwards the King had no Slaves by him for fale, tho' he had great numbers of captive Negroes, which tilled his Grounds, and did other Work. For,

it seems, after they are once inrolled for that Service, his Majesty never sells them, unless they are guilty of very great Crimes.

After the great Captain's departure, I was obliged to wait a long while for a difpatch; at last the desired Time came, and the King's Factors that brought the Negroes behaved themselves so well towards me, that I had no reason to complain of them. The principal amongst them told me, " The King was much furprized, " that I had not been dispatch'd before; " and that his Majesty had punished those " feverely, who had been the occasion " of my long stay at Jaqueen: That if " my Affairs would admit of my going " to the Camp, the King was defirous " to see me again there, to discourse, and " settle Matters, for the mutual Interest " of himself, and the Europeans trading " to his Country; for when I was with " him before, the great Hurry of Affairs " his Majesty had then on his Hands, did " not allow him fufficient time to talk of "Business." I defired the Gentleman to return

return the King my due Acknowledg. ments for all his Favours; " and that " should have been very glad and read " to have waited again on his Majesty a es the Camp: But the bad state of health I was then in, did not allow it; er which himself being an Eye-Witness " I desired he would be pleased to in " form the King of it: Adding, I should " not fail, on my arrival into England to tell my Countrymen who trade to this place, how great and generous! " Prince I had been entertained by; hop " ing (if God bless'd me) to return again in a twelvemonth at farthest." & having made the Traders fome small Pro fents, they took their Leaves, returning many thanks for what I had given them.

As foon as I had finished my Affain with these People, I waited on the Low of Jaqueen, and told him, " That have " ing compleated my Ship's Cargoed Negroes, I design'd to go on board in " two days time, defiring he would be " pleased to pay me the ballance of a " account that was between us." This

he readily promised, but never performed it. Moreover, the next day, having paid his Brother the rest of the Customs, and my Servants their Wages, my Store-house was soon after plundered in a violent manner: But, by good fortune, there were in it, only things of small value. I complained of this Usage, but had no Redress. However, I did not think proper to threaten, as I had formerly done, " That I " would inform the King of Dahome of "it;" but quietly putting up the Affront, I went to the Sea fide the next day, where I was obliged to lie all night in our Tent, because the Sea ran high on the Shore; but the next morning it being calmer, I got on board to my great Satisfaction, having, through the goodness of Providence, compleated my Affairs, much beyond my Expectation, confidering I had so melancholy a Prospect, when I first came to this Country.

The first of July 1727, we sailed from the Road of Jaqueen, having on board above 600 Negroes. I had a tedious Passage to the West-Indies of seventeen Weeks, which

tio A new Account of Guinea,

which obliged us to stop at several places for Water and Provision. But at length we arrived at Antegoa, where the Cargo of Negroes (who had stood very well) came to a good Market: And having lain there for a Cargo of Sugars, we failed from thence the latter end of February, and got safe into the River of Thames, the 25th of April 1728, having been fix. teen Months on this remarkable Voyage,



A

## SUPPLEMENT,

Containing an Account of what happened to the King and People of Whidaw, and the Dahomes, fince I came away from thence, to the Time of my return thither in the Month of February 1729-30. All which I was informed of, by some white Gentlemen of good Credit, who resided at Jaqueen all the Time I was absent.

being in a bad State of Health, I defired leave of my Owner to stay at home a Season, which he was pleased to grant me; and appointed Captain John Dagge to command the Ship I had been in. He made a successful Voyage, and returned with her in the Month

of August 1729: As I was by that time very well recovered, my Owner was pleas. ed to send me again to the Coast of Gui. nea in the Katherine Galley. Having therefore spent some time on the Wind. ward and Gold Coast, I proceeded for Whi daw. In my way to that place I stop'da Great Popoe, which lies a few League to the Windward of Whidaw. formed there, that the late King of Whi daw was near that place, with Captain Ossue, one of his principal Cabociers Lords, on two barren fandy Islands, with many other People, I fent my first Man on Shore with a Present to each of then He returned at night, with some of the King's People, who brought me a Ga from him: Saying," Their Master " ing in a poor Condition, had nothing " better to fend me." And they having bought some few things, I fent that on Shore again. After they were gone, Mate gave me the following account " That the King and Captain Offue, I " with them many Thousands of People " who lived in a miserable manner, Illan

Islands they were on being so barren, that they produced nothing: But by means of the River which separated them from the Continent, they were very well fecured from the Dahomes Power; who not understanding the Management of Cannoes, could not invade them. Moreover, they had planted feveral great Guns, which fecured the Passes, so that they were in no fear of the Enemies. But then, on the other hand, they could not fow Corn, or other Pulse in that barren place, but were fupplied with what they wanted by their Neighbours of Great and Little Popoe. However, this constantly decreased their Numbers, they being obliged to fell their Wives, Children, and Servants for Provisions and other necessaries, because they had no Money left.

of Whidaw, where being informed there was little Trade, I proceeded for Jaqueen, which is seven Leagues to the Eastward of it; and anchored in that road the 20th of February 1729-30: At my going on Shore there, the King of Dahome's Agent

I

came to fee me; and upon my enquiring after his Master's welfare, he told me, " He would fend a Messenger " to inform his Majesty of my Arrival: " But as the King was then in his own « Country, far inland, it would be at " least twenty days before he could have " an Answer." At his taking leave, he promised to let me know his Master's Pleasure on the return of the Messenger Accordingly he came to fee me again, about three weeks after his former visit, and told me, " The King was very glad to hear of my being once more arrived " at Jaqueen; but as he was then far " within Land, tho' he was desirous of " feeing me again, yet he could not in " reason require it: His Master being " fenfible, fuch a long Journey would be " neither safe for my Health, nor suit-" able to my Business; but in case the " King came to Ardra, whilst I was at Ja-" queen, which is but two days journey off, and where I had formerly been " with his Majesty, he should be very "glad to see me there once more." However,

ever, this not happening, I had not the Fortune to see the King a second time.

I now come to relate what I heard from several white Gentlemen residing at Jaqueen, ever since my former Voyage, concerning the Whidaws and the Dahomes. The King of Whidaw, with abundance of his People, having fled to the Islands formerly mentioned, the King of Dahome was disappointed in his design of destroying him, as he had always intended. that he contented himself with keeping Possession of the Country of Whidaw, by an Army encamp'd at Sabee, which had been the principal place of the Kingdom, till destroyed by him. But in time this Army being much diminished, it incouraged Captain Offue to leave the Islands, and settle himself, with many of his People, near the French Fort, which is about four Miles from Sabee; believing the great Guns therein would be a sufficient Protection from the Dahomes, in case they should offer to disturb him. This Fort had a dry Ditch, with mud Walls made of the Earth that was dug out of it; and was a square place 1 2

place with Towers at each Corner, on which were mounted feveral Cannons, and their Lodgings, Storehouses, and even their Magazine of Gunpowder, were covered with Rushes, according to the Custom of that Country; which occanioned a terrible Misfortune, as shall be immediately related.

The King of Dahomè being informed of Captain Offue's return into his Country, resolved to send an Army to drive him out; which the other having notice of, retired with many of his People into the French Fort: Offue little thinking at that time, that the Governor was the occasion of his Enemies coming in order to betray them.

The next day after he and his People were received into the Fort, the Dahome Army came down, and being informed the French had given them Protection, contrary to a fecret Promise their King had received from the Governor, they assaulted the Fort. But having nothing but small Arms to make their Attack, it would have availed little, had not the Thatch

Thatch of the Houses within the Fort taken Fire. This Accident alarmed the white Men, who knowing there was a great quantity of Gunpowder in their Magazine, and no possibility of stopping the Fire, fled to the English Fort, which was within Musquet-Shot of their own, and so saved themselves: But the black People not being so sensible of their Danger, suffered very much by the blowing up of the Magazine, there being above one thousand of them killed, besides many wounded by this Accident. However, in the Confusion, and under cover of the Smoke, Captain Offue, and several of his People, escaped to the English Fort: Where Governor Wilson, who then resided there for the African Company, generously gave them Protection; and to prevent Accidents, ordered immediately all the Houses in the Fort to be unthatch'd, and by firing on the Dahomes with his Cannon, killed feveral, and kept the rest at a distance.

The Dahomes having taken the French
Fort, sheltered themselves therein; and

the next morning fent a principal Man amongst them to Governor Wilson, to know the reason why he had fired on their Army. To which he answered, "That " they having come down out of the " Country in a hostile manner, without " giving him the least notice, and attack-" ed his Neighbours the French, he looked " on it as the common Cause of all the " Europeans settled there, who were " bound to affist one another." To this the Dahomes replied, "That when they " came down, they had no defign to at-" tack the French Fort, for the King had " no quarrel with the white Men: But the Governor having taken Captain Office " and his People into the French Fort, " contrary to his Promise, it obliged them " to act as they had done. At the same time they told the Governor to his Face, "That he had first sent to their King by a French Surgeon, then residing with " their Master, to persuade his Majesty to fend an Army down, to destroy Cap-" tain Ossue and his People; promising " at the fame time he would give them " no Protection. "This the French Governor denied, but all that were present believed it to be too true; and by this means he let the Dahomes see, that white Men (whom they had before a high opinion of) could be the basest of Villains, when their Interest tempted them thereto. For it was much suspected, that the Governour had contrived the whole Affair, in order to squeeze a large Sum of Money from Captain Offue to protect him, and for some other infamous Views. However, he met afterwards with a suitable Reward, being killed by the Whidaws, whom he had so much injured.

As foon as the King of Dahomè was informed of the taking of the French Fort, he fent this Message to the French Governor; "that he had brought this "Misfortune on himself by his Persidy, "for he had no quarrel to his Nation; "therefore he would order his Soldiers "to repair the Fort, which had been greatly damaged by the Powder: Or if he did not desire this, he might depart I 4 "with

"with all the Frenchmen to his own "Country." After this, the Ships that lay then in the Road of Whidaw had good Trade for Women and Children, which the Dahomes had taken of Captain Offue's People, but there were few Men taken; many of them being lost when the Magazine blew up: and the rest having sed to the Island which their King was in.

I come now to relate a great Misfor. tune which befel the Dahomes, some Months after they had taken the French Fort. For the better understanding of it the Reader is to know, that the King of Dahome having conquered feveral Countries within a few Years, and depopulated them; the King of Weemey's Sons, with other Princes, (whose Fathers this Conqueror had taken in War, and beheaded) fled to a far Inland Potent Nation called the J-oes. The King of Whidaw having, after Offue's Defeat, found means to fend Messengers to the King of this Country, they, and the others that had fled to him for Protection, did at last, through their earnest Sollicitations, obtain an Army to march against the King of Dahomè, whom they all look'd upon as a most cruel Destroyer of Mankind. This Nation of J-oe fight all on Horseback, and living a great way on the North towards Nubia, they can at no other time march to the Southward, but when the Season for Forage, and the dry Weather sets in. The King of Dahome had notice of their coming, a few days before they reached his Country; and he having formerly experienced how terrible such Numbers of Horse had been to his Army, which confifts of none but foot Soldiers; he resolved to bury his Riches, burn his Towns, and then fly into the Woods and Thickets with his People; which is a common thing amongst the Negroes, for the weaker fide to do, when at War; for they have no fortified Towns as in Europe: So they that are Masters of the Field command the Country far and near.

The King of Dahomè having thus in time provided for his Safety by Flight, the J-oes were disappointed: But one Appragah and his People, formerly subject

ject to the King of Whidaw, but now under the Dominion of the Dahomes, did not escape so well. For not moving so soon by two days as they did, the Joes came up with him and his People, and took abundance of them, with all Appragab's Riches; and he himself was hardly put to it to escape, with a few of his Servants.

After this the 7-oes marched on in quest of the Dahomes, but finding they were got into the thick Woods and Bushes, they incamped near them; making frequent Affaults, and often taking some of the Dahomes Prisoners. At last, they so distressed them, that for want of other Provision, they were obliged to eat many of their own Slaves. Yet the Dahomes patiently endured these Calamities, knowing the 7-oes would be obliged to retire in a little time, on account of the rainy Season that was approaching, and for want of Forage: Accordingly they were obliged to retire foon after; and the Dahomes then returned to their own Country, and rebuilt their Towns again.

During these Missortunes of the Dabomes, homes, which lasted several Months, various Reports came to Whidaw. Sometimes it was said, "That the King of "Dahome was killed:" But that was again contradicted: And it was reported, "he had "lost so many of his People, that he never "could be again in a Condition to disturb "his Neighbours;" and this was so currently believed that no one doubted of it.

About this time, which was in the beginning of July 1729, Governor Wilson departed from Whidaw, in order to return to England. He left in his room one Mr. Testesole, who had resided there many Years, but was no ways equal to him in Prudence and Conduct, as his unhappy Fate will afterwards show. For tho' this Person had been often at the King of Dahome's Camp, where he was always used with great Civility, yet now believing that King was fo far reduced, that the People of Whidaw had nothing more to fear from him; he too hastily advised their King, to leave the barren Islands wherein he had fled with his People, and come and take again Possession of his Country. Here-

Hereupon the King of Whidaw resolved to return; and, to provide against the worst, he desired his Neighbours of Popoe to lend him some of their Forces; which they readily did. For these People, with all the Coast-Negroes, mortally hate the Dahomes, on account of their Cruelty, and their Barbarity in eating human Flesh. And, besides that the Popoes are little afraid of the Dahomes Power, because they live in Islands, they now affisted the Whidaws out of Policy; thinking, if they were reinstated in their Country, Trade would foon revive, which had been fo long interrupted on account of the War. So they sent them some thousands of their People; and at their Arrival the King of Whidaw joined them with his Forces. Tho' he was a very fat unwieldy Man, yet he marched at the head of his Army, which confisted of about fifteen thousand Men, including the Popoes, and incamped in his own Country for some time, near the English and French Forts. This the Dahomes knew nothing of; for they had fo mean an opinion of the Whidaws, that

they never thought they would attempt to settle again in their own Country: Neither had they, fince the departure of the 7-oes, sent any of their People to the Sea side, having been employed in repairing their Towns, and about other Affairs. These being near finished, the King of Dahomè sent some of his Traders down with Slaves, to the English and French Forts: But his People were much surprised to see such an Army of Whidaws incamped near them. So they returned in great haste to inform their King, who upon the receipt of this News, was greatly embarassed; for he had lost many of his best Soldiers whilst the 7-oes remained in his Country, and kept him so long in the Bushes. Moreover, his Majesty had lately fent an Army into the inland Country, to take Slaves: For as I have formerly observed, he drives no regular Trade in Slaves, but only fells fuch as he takes in his Wars.

Being in this State of Perplexity (when he had not a sufficient Number of Soldiers

diers to encounter the Whidaws and Papoes together, and, on the other hand. could not bear to see himself braved by fuch a cowardly Race as the Whidaws,) his Policy extricated him out of this Difficulty. He ordered a great number of Women to be armed like Soldiers, and appointed Officers to each Company, with Colours, Drums and Umbrellas, according to the Negroe Fashion. Then ordering the Army to march, the Women Soldiers were placed in the Rear, to prevent Discovery. When they came in fight of the Whidaw Army, the latter were much furprized to see such Numbers of Dahomè Soldiers, as they supposed them all to be, marching against them: For they had much depended on the former Reports, that they were so far reduced, as not to be able (at least so soon) to have made Head against them. At this unexpected fight the Whidaws were divided: Some were for retiring back to the Islands; but others who were commanded by Captain Offue, with the Popoes, were for fighting. During this Dispute, the Dahome

Dahome Army marched on boldly, and Captain Offue, with the Popoe General, as bravely advanced to meet them; and attacked their right Wing fo briskly, that they drove them for some time before them. But the Whidaws who were with the King, at that instant cowardly fled; tho'his Majesty used his utmost endeavours and Intreaties to stop them, and at last wounded feveral with his Lance, to oblige them to second Captain Ossue's People: But all in vain. This being observed by the left Wing of the Dahomes, they fell on the Rear of Offue's Soldiers, and foon obliged them and the Popoes, to fy in their turn; which the King of Whidaw perceiving, and being fo very unwieldy and fat, he had no other way to fave his Life, but to fly into the dry Ditch of the English Fort; where, by the help of two of his Sons, his Majesty got over the Wall, and so escaped the fury of his Enemies: But many of his People were killed, and others taken.

Mr. Testesole, the Governor, was at a great loss how to act on this occasion.

For

For he foresaw the Dahomes would demand the King, and infift on his being delivered to them, as foon as they should know he was in the Fort. Which if he refused to do, he was sensible, they could oblige him in time to do it, by starving him. Moreover, he could not but fustain great loss by the Interruption of Trade So the Governor perfuaded the King to leave the Fort that Night, and he hap pily escaped to his barren Islands again However, the King of Dahome was after. wards fully informed of all this, and like wise that the Governor had been the principal occasion of the Whidaws endeavouring to regain their Country: Which he highly resented.

The Dahomes, after this, retired from about the Forts, and, leaving a small Army at Sabee, returned to their own Country; where many Banditti of other Nations resorting to them, their King, in sew Months, found his Strength and Power as much increased, as when he fled from the J-oes. But the Countries being laid wast far and near by his former Wars, the

he has large Territories of many hundred Miles, and as fine a Country under his Dominion, as any in the Southern Parts of Africa; yet he is only a great King in name for want of Subjects, by reason of his having destroyed in so cruel a manner the Inhabitants of all the Places he has conquered. This has obliged many hundred thousands to sly from his Arms, into foreign Countries; that are by Situation secured from his rambling Bands, either by great Rivers, Mountains or Lakes.

He has acted fince as impolitick a part in another matter. For he gave his word to a great number of the former Inhabitants, If they would return again into their own Country, they should quietly enjoy it, upon paying a certain Tribute. On this many thousands returned into the Kingdom of Ardra, where they built Houses, sowed Corn, and planted Potatoes; but no sooner were these poor People settled, than the Dahomes surprized them, and killed or took captive all that could not escape from them. The King having

having thus broken his promife, I believe no others will ever venture to trust him: And the Country, in all Probability, will remain uninhabited, during his Life: Moreover, by this means the Trade at Whidaw is almost ruined; for the far inland People having now no Markets to carry their Slaves to, as formerly, and the Dahomes using no Trade but that of War, few Negroes are now brought down to be fold to the Europeans.

Whether it was the badness of Trade, occasioned by the Dahomes acting in this manner, or any thing else, that enraged Mr. Testefole against them; he was so imprudent, that on all Opportunities he used their People ill, when they came to the English Fort: And at last whipped one of their principal Men at the Flag-Staff; and upon his complaining of this great Indignity, Testesole rashly replied, He would serve his King in the same manner if he was in his Power. All this being afterwards reported to his Majesty, it highly offended him: And he faid, " Surely this Man must be full of Malice " against

" against us, else he could never have so " suddenly forgot our former Kindnesses " to him."

The King upon this ordered his People to watch for an Opportunity to furprize the Governor, and make him Prisoner; and his Imprudence foon made him fall into their Hands in the following manner. There was a French Captain who had a Factory, at some distance from the English Fort: This Gentleman had been drinking with the Governor all night, and when the day came, he persuaded Mr. Testefole to go and drink Coffee with him at his Factory. The Dahomes, who were on the Watch, feeing him go to the Frenchman's House, went and surrounded it, demanding to have the Governor delivered to them. This the Captain at first refused, but they threatning to burn his Factory; he told them, He would forthwith bring him out. So he went into the House, and advised Mr. Testesole to make his Escape; which he refusing to do, the Captain put him by force into a large Cheft, and lock'd him in: Then

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he went out, and told the Dahomes, "He "could not find the Governor, and that "he believed he had escaped." This so enraged them, that they fired a Pistol at the Captain, which shot him in the Arm, and thereupon broke into his House, where they at last found the unfortunate Man in the Chest; whom they took out tied his Hands and Legs, and putting him into a Hammock, sent him away to their King, who was at that time encamp'dup into the Country, four days journey off.

This unhappy Gentleman flattered himself, that the former Kindness the King had shown for him, would now save him; but his Majesty was so highly offended, that he would not vouchsafe to see him; so that he gave himself up so lost. However, a few days after this him was sent down to Sabee, about four Mills from the Fort, where he was given to understand, "If he would write to the Per" for that commanded in his Absence for several things, which they named for his Ransom, that on their being

" fent he should have his Liberty.

Th

This he readily complied with, and they instantly allowed him more Freedom, permitting two of his own Negroe Servants to wait on him; fo that he began to be easy in his Mind: But the Scene soon changed; for on their receiving the Things he had writ for, and which were of a considerable Value, these cruel base Villains seized his Person, and made his Body fast to Stakes drove in the Ground: Where, fpreading him on his Belly, they with harp Knives cut open his Arms, Back, Thighs and Legs in feveral places, and filled the Wounds with a mixture of Limejuice, Salt and Pepper mixed together; which put him to inexpressible Torment. However, they foon after put him out of his pain, by cutting off his Head. Then they cut his Body in pieces, broiled them on the Coals, and eat them.

Thus this poor Gentleman lost his Life in a terrible manner. And tho' the King of Dahome has fince denied to some white People, "That he gave Orders to have him put to death;" His Majesty K 3 faying,

faying, by way of Excuse, "He only told fome of his principal People to carry him to Sabee, and there do with him what they thought sit, not suspecting they would have used a white Gentleman in such a manner;" Yet it is not to be doubted but they knew their Master's Mind too well in this Affair. For his Majesty punished none of those that were Actors in this cruel Tragedy; tho' it was earnestly insisted on. Nay some of them that ear part of his Flesh, have been since so audacious, as to tell several Portuguese Gentlemen, that talked with them about in That English Beef was very good."

After Mr. Testesole's unhappy Fate, two white Men running away from the English Fort, one of them went to the King of Dahome, and informed him, "There "were but four white People lest in the 'place, so that he might easily take it." The King replied, "He had no quarrel "with the English Nation; for what had been done to the late Governor, he by his Imprudence had brought on himself: "And he hoped, the African Company "would

" would fend a fitter Person to command " the Fort for the future."

Sometime after this the King of Dabome confidering he should certainly be invaded again by the 7-oes, as foon as the Season permitted them to march, and dreading very much their power, he sent Embassadors with large Presents to their King, together with one of his handsomest Daughters. These were civilly received, and had the good fortune to fucceed in their Negotiations. For they fo gained fome great Men about the King, by presenting them with large pieces of Coral (which the 7-oes esteem above all things) that by their means an advantagious Peace was obtained for their Master, and they were civilly difmiffed with handsome Rewards. For a Confirmation of the Peace, the King of J-oe fent, a little while after, one of his Daughters to the King of Dabome for a Wife; and she was received with great Joy by the King and his People.

At my going on Shore at Jaqueen, the latter end of February 1729-30: I was informed K 4

informed of all that I have here related: and tho' I found Trade very dull, yet all the white Gentlemen residing at that place, were full of Expectations, That, now a Peace was concluded between the 7-oes and the Dahomes, we should foon have a great many Negroes brought down for Sale. But tho' I was there above two Months, Trade did not mend in the least: And I am afraid it will not for many Years, because of the great Destruction of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countries, who used to carry on a regular Trade with the far inland People: Neither will those that had the good fortune to escape the Dahomes Cruelty, dare to return during the Life of the present Conqueror, whose Perfidiousness and Treachery they have often experienced.

I shall conclude this first Book with an account of a Misfortune that befel me by Fire, whilst I was at Jaqueen. The relation, if I mistake not, may be acceptable to the Reader, and give him a true notion of the Buildings, and some other

Matters amongst the Negroes.

The Houses in that Country are built with mud-Walls, one Story high. The Rafters that support the Roof are made of Bamboes, which is a light spungy Wood. On these they lay a great quantity of Thatch, which in the dry Season of the Year is like Tinder: Yet the Natives are so careless, that many Fires happen in that Season; there having been no less than five during the two Months I was there, in which some thousands of their Houses were burnt down. This carelesness of the Negroes, I judge, chiefly proceeds from the little regard they have for their Furniture. For it is very mean, except amongst some of the principal People, confisting of Matts to sleep on, earthen Pots to boil their Victuals in; with a few other things of small value. Moreover, the Walls of their Houses being made of Clay, the Fire does them rather good than hurt, as it bakes them harder. And to new cover them it costs but little. So that the Europeans that have Factories in the Town of Jaqueen, are often great Sufferers by these frequent Fires, Fires, occasioned generally by the stupid Carelessness of the Negroes, which proceeds from the Reasons just now mentioned.

I thought our Factory pretty fafe from it, for we lived in a large Court belonging to the Duke, who was the only Brother of the Lord of the Place by the fame Mo. ther, and his chief Minister. This House joined to the Apartments of the Duke's Women, which it being a capital Crime for the Natives to go into, fo it would have been very imprudent for any white Man to have attempted it: Yet the Fire obliged us to fave our felves that way, as I shall just now relate. The other fide of the Court we lived in, opened into the Fields; and just by our Door a narrow Street began, where the Lord of Faqueen's Feticheer or Priest lived with his Family.

Two Fires having happened in the Town, within a few days one of the other, in which some Portuguese suffered a great Loss in their Goods, I expres'd my apprehensions of the like Danger. But the Duke affured me, "It was never " known,

"known, that either his Brother's Houses, or his own had been burn'd. For they having abundance of Servants, if any Fire began near them, their People, by unthatching the Houses, soon put a flop to it. Moreover, all the Inhabitants who lived near the Court, were very careful of Fire; because it was death by their Law to all the Family where it began." These Reasons made me more easy than I had been for some time. But on the sisteenth of March, being Sunday, what I long feared came to pass.

My hired black Servants asked me leave after Dinner, to go to the Burial of one of their acquaintance; and several of my white People did the same, being desirous to see the Customs of the Blacks on this occasion: In which indeed they are very ridiculous and expensive, drinking as much Brandy and other Liquors, as the Circumstances of the deceased Person will allow. I granted them all their request; and by that means there remained only two white Men with me in the Factory. The

The Fire began about two a clock that afternoon, in the Feticheer's House, just opposite to our Door, which immediately taking Fire, prevented our Escape that way. However in the first Surprize, I gave my Box of Books and Accounts to one of my young Men, who ventured through the Door-way with them, tho' he was scorched by the Flames; and so I luckily faved them. My next care was to fave our Gold, which I kept in a large Dutch Chest, thinking it safer there than in a Portmanteau, or a small Box, which our black Servants might have been tempted to run away with. But, in the hurry, I could not find the Key of the Cheft, to take the Money out; and the Fire having taken hold of the Thatch of the room wherein it stood, I and the other white Man then remaining with me, took it up, and carried it into the Apartments belonging to the Duke's Women: Where we met him and his Brother with many People, going to endeavour to stop the Fire, by unthatching the adjoining Houses; but the Flames were got to fuch a head, that

that they were foon forced to fly before them. My Man and I having carried the Chest through several windings and turnings in the Duke's Houses, we began to be quite tired, (for it was very heavy) when, just in the nick of time, five black People came running towards us, and the way was fo narrow they could not eafily pass by us. One of these Men I knew, who spoke good English, " so I defired " him and the others to fave the Chest, " for which I would well reward them." He answered, " They durst not assist me; " being obliged, on no less a Penalty than " the loss of their Heads, to go and save the " Duke's Goods." By good fortune I had my Cane then hanging on my Wrist, which I used to such purpose, that two of them immediately took up the Chest; whereupon I let the other three pass by: So, with the help of the two Men I had obliged to affist us, we got the Chest at last over a Wall ten foot high, into the Street, and fo to the Dutch Factory in fafety. But we had the Misfortune to lose in our Factory a large quantity of Goods. Goods, with all my Necessaries, except what was in the Chest. All the Duke's houses, and the greatest part of his Furniture was destroyed; but his Brother's were preserved, by unthatching the Houses that stood next his Court. I think, for the time this Fire lasted, which was but about an hour, nothing could be siercer or quicker; and had it happened in the night, we should certainly have been burnt; for we could never have found our way out, amongst so many Turnings and Windings, as were in the Dukes Apartments.

When the hurry was pretty well over, the Lord of Jaqueen inquired after me, being under some concern about me; for he did not see me as he passed along in his Brother's Rooms: As soon as he was informed of my Safety, he sent a Messenger to enquire, "How I did, after so severe "a Missortune?"

It is remarkable, we could never learn how this Fire happened, for tho' I often press'd the Duke to make an inquiry after it, yet he always declined it; which I believe was on account of his Brother's Feticheer, in whose Family the Fire began. However, they were so wise as not to let them repair their Houses, but obliged them to build further from the Court which belonged to the Duke.

Adjoining to the Feticheer's House that was burnt, there was a large square Court, adorned with many handsome Trees that grew round it. In the middle of this place stood the Lord of Jaqueen's Fetiche. It was made in the fashion of a large Hay-cock, and covered over with Thatch: On the top of this was placed a dead Man's Scull, before which Offerings were made for the Duke's Health and Preservation. This Fetiche escaped being burn'd, tho' all the Houses adjoining to the Court wherein it stood were confum'd. This was cryed up by the People as a great Miracle; faying, "Their Lord's God had " taken care to preserve his own House:" Tho' by what I could judge it was impoffible this Fetiche should be burn'd, because it was at a considerable distance from the Fire, and guarded by fo many Trees Trees full of Branches and Leaves. But it was in vain to argue against their fu-

perstitious Notion.

After this Misfortune, I fent my People on board to get them more necessaries; during which time I remained in the Dutch Factory. On their return a shore, I was obliged, tho' much against my will, to take a new-built house be longing to the Duke, but finding no on durst let me one (which it seems had been forbidden for the fake of the Duke Advantage) I complied. But what I feared came to pass, for we all got Feversin a few days after we had been in this House.

About ten days after this, another terrible Fire happened, which began in Portuguese Factory, and in this manner. A Negroe Cook frying some Fish in Palm-0 the Oyl took fire; and he imprudently throwing Water thereon, the Flame of the Oyl ran up the fide of the Wall, (for the Negroe Houses have no Chimneys) and in stantly fired the Thatch. Whereupon the Wind then blowing very fresh, spread

fpread in a moment and confumed, in two hours time, one third of the Town, in which stood several thousands of their little Houses: However, this did not come near our Factory.

Soon after this, my People grew so bad, that I was obliged to fend them on board the Ship, and have others ashore in their room: In a little while after, the House we had been burnt out of, being repaired, we removed into it; and by this means had the Opportunity of seeing daily thousands of People bring Bamboes and Thatch, to repair the Duke's Houses with; it being the Custom of the Country so to do, when either their Lord or his Brother wants it. But the noise of the People's Musick, and antick dancing, on this occasion, gave me much Disturbance: Moreover, Trade continuing still very dull, it gave me no little concern; and having got rid of my Fever for a few days, it returned again. Being in these unhappy Circumstances, I received advice, that two of my Owner's Ships were arrived in the Road of Jaqueen. Whereupon I left my Factory,

Factory, and went on board my Ship; and there, the Commanders of the other two and I agreed, "It would be for our "Owner's Interest that I should go di "rectly for England." So, delivering to one of them what Negroes I had on Board and receiving what Elephants Teeth, and Gold they had, I left the Road of Jaqueen the first day of May: And having had fine Passage, in which I intirely lost my Fever, and recovered my Strength a little I arrived safe in the River of Thames the 13th of July 1730.

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allon, even the mitch Differbance: Word-

## ADDITIONS

To the foregoing Account.

A Sthe Publication of this Book has been deferred till the Winter Seafon, it may not be unacceptable to the Reader, to have a farther Account of the King of Dahomè, according to the latest Advices come from those Parts.

I ended the first Book with an account of that King's having concluded a Peace with the most powerful of his Enemies, the King of J-oe. This put the Europeans then residing at Jaqueen in great hopes, that those Countries would be settled, and Trade slourish again; tho at my departure from that Place, in May 1730, I saw but little prospect of it: And indeed it has been quite ruined since, by the Destruction of the Country of Jaqueen, on the 22d of March 1731-2.

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For the King of Dahomè being a restless ambitious Prince, instead of endeavouring (after the concluding of the Peace with the J-oes) to settle his conquered Countries, he marched far Inland against a Nation called the Yahoos.

These People valiantly defended them. felves for many Months, having retired amongst their Mountains and Woods where they were besieged by the Dahoma The rainy Season coming on, the Da home Soldiers were desirous of returning to their own Country, but the King was highly incensed at it, and put several of the principal Officers to death, only for mentioning it to him. This caused great Murmurings in the Army, which were increased by their Sufferings from the Rains; fo that some of his Captains & ferted him with many Soldiers, among whom was one of his Sons, who for with four thousand Men to the King Weemey.

Finding himself in these Circumstances he resolved to make one grand Effort the Yahoos, in which he prevailed; by

the

tho' he beat them out of their Fastnesses, he gain'd little by it, they making a brave Retreat, in which his wearied Soldiers could not pursue them; and soon after he returned to his own Country, with the loss of most of his Forces and of his Reputation.

At this the People of Jaqueen were not a little pleased; for they always stood in fear of him, but now began to entertain Hopes, he might at last be destroyed.

There resided at that Place, a Dutch Gentleman named Mynheer Hertog. This Person carried on a considerable Trade, with the help of his black Servants, into several distant Countries, by means of a River that runs from Jaqueen into the Bay of Bennin. Having gained a great influence over the King of Jaqueen, they often consulted together, sending private Messages by the Traders to the King of Weemey, and other neighbouring Princes, to stir them up against the King of Dabomè, and withal supplied them with Ammunition. Of this the King of Dahome having received Intelligence, and also that L 3

the People of Jaqueen were going to build a Fortification by the Directions of the Europeans residing there; he resolved to attack them, in order to be revenged.

The better to deceive them, he gave out, that he intended a second Expedition far inland: And to blind the Jaqueen Spies, he gave Order to his General to march towards the inland Parts, but in the Night the Army wheeled about, and with great Expedition (tho' there were above fifteen thousand men in this Army) they came by the way of Whidaw to Jaqueen, without being discovered, till they were just entring the Town.

As the People of Jaqueen stood always in dread of the King of Dahomè, (as I have just now mention'd) they kept in readiness a great many Cannoes in the River that runs on the back part of the Town to save themselves, in case they should be attacked and defeated. But being now surprized, they had little time to provide for their own Safety: However, the King and many of his principal People escaped in the Cannoes, to an Island he had sor

tified against such an Accident, and which lies in the middle of the River towards Appals. By that means he escaped the sury of the Dahomes; but he lost all his Riches, and, to add to his Missfortune, his Mother, (that was highly reverenced by him and his People) was taken Prisoner by the Enemy, and carried to the King of Dahomè; and what became of her asterwards is unknown.

Mynbeer Hertog, the Dutch Chief, was at dinner, when the Dahomes entered the Town: And knowing how obnoxious he had made himself to their King, he immediately fled, being defended by four hundred of his People from the Enemy, till he got into a Cannoe; and then they shifted for themselves. He lost every thing in the Factory, which at that time was full of European Goods to a very great Value. This Gentleman escaped to Appab, which lies on the Sea Coast, about ten Leagues to the eastward of Jaqueen. He was kindly received by the King and People, who have a great aversion for the Dahomes.

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In the Town of Jaqueen the Conquerors met with a great deal of Plunder, the Inhabitants not having had time to carry any thing away. But not fatisfied with this, they made, according to their barbarous Custom, a terrible Carnage of the People; and to compleat the Destruction of the Country, set all the Towns and Villages on fire.

There were at this time in Jaqueen feveral Europeans, who fared little better than the Natives; their Factories being plundered of every thing. Amongst the rest there was Captain Robert More Commander of the Squirrel Galley, belonging to the late Humphrey Morrice Esq; This Gentleman being taken Prisoner with the white Men in his Factory, (as the French and Portuguese also were in theirs) was obliged to travel with them to the King of Dahome, who then resided at Ardra, about fifty Miles within Land. And they were not so much as provided with Hammocks, or any other Carriages, but forced to walk on foot in the fcorching Sun, which had like to have kill'd them.

Upon

Upon their appearing before the King, Captain More complained of his hard usage; telling his Majesty, " They had " had no Victuals nor any Refreshment "fince they had been taken Prisoners." The King thereupon rose up, and went into an inner room; whence coming out again with a Hatchet in his Hand, the fight of it so frightned some of the Portuguese, that they fell on their Knees to implore his Mercy; imagining their Heads were going to be cut off. But Captain More severely upbraiding them for their cowardly Behaviour, fo difgraceful to white Men, they rose up: And had soon after the pleasure of seeing a small Cask of Beef opened with it, and feveral pieces ordered to be dress'd for them. This Cask of Beef, it feems, was found by the Soldiers in the Captain's Factory, and fent up with other Plunder, to the King, the day before.

Then they were distributed according to their different Nations, and put under the care of several great Men. Captain More and his People were delivered to Allegee,

Allegee the English Cabocier; (as he was termed) that is, the Person appointed to Trade with them in particular. This black Gentleman treated them with great Civility; but they had the Mortification, a few days after, to hear, he was seized and beheaded; tho' they could never learn the Cause.

It feems the King of Dahomè is grown exceedingly cruel towards his People, being always suspicious, that Plots and Conspiracies are carrying on against him: So that he frequently cuts off some of his great Men on bare Surmises. This, added to the many Disappointments he has met with from the Joes, has so sourced his Temper, that he is likewise greatly altered towards the Europeans, as Captain More experienced. For this Gentleman had been at his Camp formerly, and was known to him soon after the Conquest of Whidaw, as I have related in the former part of this Book.

Besides, both King and People continue as savage as ever, tho' they have conversed for several Years past with white

Men.

Men. For one day the Council having begged a Captive, his Majesty readily gave them one, whom they killed and feasted on.

But to return to Captain More. He and the other Europeans having continued a good while Prisoners, Mr. Dean, the African Company's Governor of the Fort at Whidaw, came to Ardra, and interceded with the King for them: Representing, " As they had been at 7a-" queen only on account of Trade, it was " very unjust to detain them." With these and many other Arguments, he at last obtained their Freedom: And a Guard was ordered to see Captain More safe down to Jaqueen. But he reflecting on the hard usage he had received at that place from the Soldiers, when at first taken Prisoner; and that they still were encamped there, he chose to go by the way of Whidaw: From whence he got on board a French Ship, and borrowed their Boat, which carried him to his own Ship, that lay in the Road of Jaqueen.

From this and the foregoing Account the Reader may observe, that now all the Countries near the Sea side, which the King of Dahomè could possibly get at, are not only conquered, but also turned into Desolation, with the Inland Parts, in so terrible a manner, that there is no Prose pect of Trade's reviving there again for many Years, or at least so long as the Conqueror lives. What little there is, is carried on chiefly at Appah, a place secured from him by a Morass and a River.

The End of BOOK I.

## BOOK II.

The manner how the Negroes become Slaves. The Numbers of them yearly exported from Guinea to America. The Lawfulness of that Trade. Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been, &c.

Before I give a particular Relation of the several Mutinies among the Negroe Slaves, whereof I have been a Witness, and which is to be the chief Subject of this present Book, it will be very proper to presix a short account of the Manner how the Negroes become Slaves; what Numbers of them are yearly exported from Guinea; and

and then offer a few words in Justification of that Trade.

The manner how the Necome Slaves.

As for the Manner how those People become Slaves; it may be reduced under groes be- these several Heads.

> 1. It has been the Custom among the Negroes, time out of Mind, and is so to this day, for them to make Slaves of all the Captives they take in War. Now, before they had an Opportunity of felling them to the white People, they were often obliged to kill great Multitudes, when they had taken more than they could well employ in their own Plantations, for fear they should rebel, and endanger their Masters Safety.

2dly. Most Crimes amongst them are punished by Mulcts and Fines; and if the Offender has not wherewithal to pay his Fine, he is fold for a Slave: This is the Practice of the inland People, as well as of those on the Sea fide.

3dly. Debtors who refuse to pay their Debts, or are infolvent, are likewise liable to be made Slaves; but their Friends may redeem them: And if they are not able or willing willing to do it, then they are generally fold for the Benefit of their Creditors. But few of these come into the hands of the Europeans, being kept by their Countrymen for their own use.

4thly. I have been told, That it is common for some inland People, to sell their Children for Slaves, tho' they are under no Necessity for so doing; which I am inclined to believe. But I never observed, that the People near the Sea Coast practise this, unless compelled thereto by extreme Want and Famine, as the People of Whidaw have lately been.

Now, by these means it is that so many Number of the Negroes become Slaves, and more exported. especially by being taken Captives in War.

Of these the Number is so great, that I may safely affirm, without any Exaggeration, that the Europeans of all Nations, that trade to the Coast of Guinea, have, in some Years, exported at least seventy thousand. And tho' this may no doubt be thought at first hearing a prodigious Number; yet when 'tis considered how great the Extent of this Coast is, namely from

from Cape Verd to Angola, which is about four thousand Miles in length; and that Polygamy is allowed in general amongst them, by which means the Countries are full of People, I hope it will not be thought improbable that so many are yearly exported from thence.

Lawfulness of that Trade. Several Objections have often been raised against the Lawfulness of this Trade, which I shall not here undertake to refute. I shall only observe in general That the to traffick in human Creatures, may at first sight appear barbarous, inhuman, and unnatural; yet the Traders herein have as much to plead in their own Excuse, as can be said for some other Branches of Trade, namely, the Alwantage of it: And that not only in the gard of the Merchants, but also of the Slaves themselves, as will plainly appear from these following Reasons.

First, It is evident, that abundance of Captives, taken in War, would be inhumanly destroyed, was there not an Opportunity of disposing of them to the Europeans. So that at least many Lives are

faved;

faved, and great Numbers of useful Perfons kept in being.

Secondly, When they are carried to the Plantations, they generally live much better there, than they ever did in their own Country; for as the Planters pay a great price for them, 'tis their interest to take care of them.

Thirdly, By this means the English Plantations have been so much improved, that 'tis almost incredible, what great Advantages have accrued to the Nation thereby; especially to the Sugar Islands, which lying in a Climate near as hot as the Coast of Guinea, the Negroes are sitter to cultivate the Lands there, than white People.

Then as to the Criminals amongst the Negroes, they are by this means effectually transported, never to return again; a Benefit which we very much want here.

In a word, from this Trade proceed Benefits, far outweighing all, either real or pretended Mischiefs and Inconveniencies. And, let the worst that can, be said of it, it will be found, like all other earthly Advantages, tempered with a mixture of Good and Evil.

Mutinies in the Ships where the Author has been.

I come now to give an Account of the among the Negroes. Mutinies that have happened on board the Ships where I have been.

> These Mutinies are generally occafioned by the Sailors ill usage of these poor People, when on board the Ships wherein they are transported to our Plantations. Wherever therefore I have commanded, it has been my principal Care, to have the Negroes on board my Ship kindly used; and I have always strictly charged my white People to treat them with Humanity and Tenderness: In which I have usually found my Account, both in keeping them from mutinying, and preferving them in health.

And whereas it may feem strange to those that are unacquainted with the method of managing them, how we can carry fo many hundreds together in a small Ship, and keep them in order; I shall just mention what is generally practifed, When we purchase grown People, I acquaint them by the Interpreter, " That, or now they are become my Property, I " think fit to let them know what they are bought for, that they may be easy " in their Minds: (For these poor People are generally under terrible Apprehenfions upon their being bought by white Men, many being afraid that we defign to eat them; which, I have been told, is a story much credited by the inland Negroes;) " So after informing them, That "they are bought to till the Ground in " our Country, with feveral other Mat-" ters; I then acquaint them, how they " are to behave themselves on board, to-" wards the white Men; that if any one " abuses them, they are to complain to " the Linguist, who is to inform me of " it, and I will do them Justice: But if " they make a Disturbance, or offer to " strike a white Man, they must expect " to be feverely punished."

When we purchase the Negroes, we couple the sturdy Men together with Irons; but we suffer the Women and Children to go freely about: And soon after we have sail'd from the Coast, we undo all the Mens Irons.

They are fed twice a day, and are allowed in fair Weather to come on Deck

at feven a clock in the Morning, and to remain there, if they think proper, till Sun fetting. Every Monday Morning they are ferved with Pipes and Tobacco, which they are very fond of. The Men Negroes lodge separate from the Women and Children; and the places where they all lye are cleaned every day, some white Men being appointed to fee them do it.

It would be tedious to the Reader as well as to my felf, should I relate all the Particulars of our Management of them, and the Care we take to keep them in health and order; wherefore I shall conclude with this remark, That if a Commander is himself well inclined, and has good Officers to execute his Orders, the Negroes on board may be eafily governed; and many Difficulties (which unavoidably arise amongst such Numbers) got over with a little trouble.

The first Mutiny I saw among the Negroes, happened during my first Voyage, in the Year 1704. It was on board the Eagle Galley of London, commanded by my Father, with whom I was as Purser.

We had bought our Negroes in the River of Old Callabar in the Bay of Guinea. At the time of their mutinying we were in that River, having four hundred of them on board, and not above ten white Men who were able to do Service: For several of our Ship's Company were dead, and many more fick; befides, two of our Boats were just then gone with twelve People on Shore to fetch Wood, which lay in fight of the Ship. All these Circumstances put the Negroes on consulting how to mutiny, which they did at four a clock in the Afternoon, just as they went to Supper. But as we had always carefully examined the Mens Irons, both Morning and Evening, none had got them off, which in a great measure contributed to our Preservation. Three white Men flood on the Watch with Cutlaces in their Hands. One of them who was on the Forecastle, a stout fellow, seeing some of the Men Negroes take hold of the chief Mate, in order to throw him over board, he laid on them fo heartily with the flat side of his Cutlace, that they soon M 3 quitted

Donition

quitted the Mate, who escaped from them, and run on the Quarter Deck to get Arms. I was then fick with an Ague, and lying on a Couch in the great Cabbin, the Fit being just come on. However, I no sooner heard the Outcry, That the Slaves were mutinying, but I took two Pistols, and run on the Deck with them: where meeting with my Father and the chief Mate, I delivered a Pistol to each of them. Whereupon they went forward on the Booms, calling to the Negroe Men that were on the Forecastle; but they did not regard their Threats, being busy with the Centry, (who had disengaged the chief Mate,) and they would have certainly killed him with his own Cutlace, could they have got it from him; but they could not break the Line wherewith the Handle was fastened to his Wrist And fo, tho' they had feized him, yet they could not make use of his Cutlace, Being thus disappointed, they endeavoured to throw him overboard, but he held fo fast by one of them that they could not do it. My Father feeing this flout Man

in fomuch Danger, ventured amongst the Negroes, to fave him; and fired his Pistol over their Heads, thinking to frighten them. But a lusty Slave struck him with a Billet so hard, that he was almost stunned. The Slave was going to repeat the Blow, when a young Lad about feventeen years old, whom we had been kind to, interposed his Arm, and received the Blow, by which his Arm-bone was fractured. At the same instant the Mate fired his Piftol, and shot the Negroe that had struck my Father. At the fight of this the Mutiny ceased, and all the Men-negroes on the Forecastle threw themselves flat on their Faces, crying out for Mercy.

Upon examining into the matter, we found, there were not above twenty Men Slaves concerned in this Mutiny; and the two Ringleaders were missing, having, it seems, jumped overboard as soon as they found their Project deseated, and were drowned. This was all the Loss we suffered on this occasion: For the Negroe that was shot by the Mate, the Surgeon, beyond all Expectation, cured. And I M 4

had the good Fortune to lose my Ague, by the fright and hurry I was put into. Moreover, the young Man, who had received the Blow on his Arm to save my Father, was cured by the Surgeon in our Passage to Virginia. At our Arrival in that place we gave him his Freedom; and a worthy Gentleman, one Colonel Carter, took him into his Service, till he became well enough acquainted in the Country to provide for himself.

I have been feveral Voyages, when there has been no Attempt made by our Negroes to mutiny; which, I believe, was owing chiefly, to their being kindly used, and to my Officers Care in keeping a good Watch. But sometimes we meet with stout stubborn People amongst them, who are never to be made easy; and these are generally some of the Cormantines, a Nation of the Gold Coast. I went in the year 1721, in the Henry of London, a Voyage to that part of the Coast, and bought a good many of these People. We were obliged to secure them very well in Irons, and watch them narrowly: Yet they

twisted

they nevertheless mutinied, tho' they had little prospect of succeeding. I lay at that time near a place called Mumfort on the Gold-Coast, having near five hundred Negroes on board, three hundred of which were Men. Our Ship's Company consisted of fifty white People, all in health: And I had very good Officers; so that I was very easy in all respects.

This Mutiny began at Midnight (the Moon then shining very bright) in this manner. Two Men that stood Centry at the Fore-hatch way, where the Men Slaves came up to go to the house of Office, permitted four to go to that place; but neglected to lay the Gratings again, as they should have done: Whereupon four more Negroes came on Deck, who had got their Irons off, and the four in the house of Office having done the same, all the eight fell on the two Centries, who immediately called out for help. The Negroes endeavoured to get their Cutlaces from them, but the Lineyards (that is the Lines by which the handles of the Cutlaces were fastned to the Mens Wrists) were so twisted in the Scusse, that they could not get them off before we came to their Assistance. The Negroes perceiving several white Men coming towards them, with Arms in their hands, quitted the Centries, and jumped over the Ship's side into the Sea.

I being by this time come forward on the Deck, my first care was to secure the Gratings, to prevent any more Negroes from coming up; and then I ordered People to get into the Boat, and save those that had jumped over-board, which they luckily did: For they found them all clinging to the Cables the Ship was moored by.

After we had secured these People, I called the Linguists, and ordered them to bid the Men-Negroes between Decks be quiet; (for there was a great noise amongst them.) On their being silent, I asked, "What had induced them to mustiny? They answered, I was a great "Rogue to buy them, in order to carry them away from their own Country; and that they were resolved to regain their Liberty if possible." I replied,

4 That they had forfeited their Freedom " before I bought them, either by Crimes, " or by being taken in War, according to the Custom of their Country; and they " being now my Property, I was resolved " to let them feel my Resentment, if " they abused my Kindness: Asking at the " fame time, Whether they had been ill " used by the white Men, or had wanted " for any thing the Ship afforded?" To this they replied, " They had nothing to " complain of." Then I observed to them, "That if they should gain their Point " and escape to the Shore, it would be " no Advantage to them, because their "Countrymen would catch them, and " fell them to other Ships." This ferved my purpose, and they seemed to be convinced of their Fault, begging, " I would " forgive them, and promising for the " future to be obedient, and never mu-" tiny again, if I would not punish them " this time." This I readily granted, and so they went to sleep. When Day-light came we called the Men Negroes up on Deck, and examining their Irons, found them them all secure. So this Affair happily ended, which I was very glad of; for these People are the stoutest and most sensible Negroes on the Coast: Neither are they so weak as to imagine as others do, that we buy them to eat them; being satisfied we carry them to work in our Plantations, as they do in their own Country.

However, a few days after this, we discovered they were plotting again, and preparing to mutiny. For some of the Ringleaders proposed to one of our Linguists, If he could procure them an Ax, they would cut the Cables the Ship rid by in the night; and so on her driving (as they imagined) ashore, they should get out of our hands, and then would become his Servants as long as they lived.

For the better understanding of this I must observe here, that these Linguists are Natives and Freemen of the Country, whom we hire on account of their speaking good English, during the time we remain trading on the Coast; and they are likewise Brokers between us and the black Merchants.

This

This Linguist was so honest as to acquaint me with what had been proposed to him; and advised me to keep a strict Watch over the Slaves: For tho' he had represented to them the same as I had done on their mutinying before, That they would be all catch'd again, and sold to other Ships, in case they could carry their Point, and get on Shore; yet it had no effect upon them.

This gave me a good deal of Uneafiness. For I knew several Voyages had proved unsuccessful by Mutinies; as they occasioned either the total loss of the Ship and the white Mens Lives; or at least by rendring it absolutely necessary to kill or wound a great number of the Slaves, in order to prevent a total Destruction. Moreover, I knew many of these Cormantine Negroes despised Punishment, and even Death it self: It having often happened at Barbadoes and other Islands, that on their being any ways hardly dealt with, to break them of their Stubbornness in refusing to work, twenty or more have hang'd themselves at a time in a Plantati-

However, about a Month after this a fad Accident happened, that brough our Slaves to be more orderly, and put them in a better Temper: And it was this. On our going from Mumfort to Annamaboe, which is the principal part on the Gold Coast, I met there with another of my Owner's Ships, called the Eliza. beth. One Captain Thompson that commanded her was dead; as also his chief Mate: Moreover the Ship had afterward been taken at Cape Lahoe on the windward Coast, by Roberts the Pirate, with whom feveral of the Sailors belonging to her had entered. However, some of the Pirates had hindered the Cargoe's being plundered, and obtained that the Ship should be restored to the second Mate: Telling him, "They " did it out of respect to the generous Cha-" racter his Owner bore, in doing good " to poor Sailors."

When I met with this Veffel I had almost disposed of my Ship's Cargoe; and the Elizabeth being under my Direction, I acquainted the second Mate, who then commanded her, That I thought it for our Owner's Interest, to take the Slaves from on board him, being about 120, into my Ship; and then go off the Coast; and that I would deliver him at the same time the Remains of my Cargoe, for him to dispose of with his own after I was sailed. This he readily complied with, but told me, "He feared his Ship's Company " would mutiny, and oppose my taking " the Slaves from him:" And indeed, they came at that instant in a Body on the Quarter-deck; where one spoke for the rest, telling me plainly, " they would not "allow the Slaves to be taken out by me." I found by this they had loft all respect for their present Commander, who indeed was a weak Man. However, I calmly asked the reason, " Why they offered to "oppose my taking the Slaves?" To which they answered, " I had no business " with them." On this I defired the Captain to send to his Scrutore, for the Book of Instructions Captain Thompson had received from our Owner; and he read to them, at my request, that Parr, in which their former Captain, or his Successor

Successor (in case of Death) was to sol. low my Orders. Hereupon they all cried out, " they should remain a great while ' longer on the Coast to purchase more " Slaves, if I took these from them, which "they were refolved to oppose." I anfwered, " That fuch of the Ship's Com-" pany as defired it, I would receive on 66 board my own; where they should " have the same Wages they had at prefent on board the Elizabeth, and I would " fend some of my own People to supply " their Places." This fo reasonable an Offer was refused, one of the Men who was the Ship's Cooper telling me, that the Slaves had been on board a long time, and they had great Friendship with them: therefore they would keep them. I asked him, "Whether he had ever been on the Coast of Guinea before? He replied no. Then I told him, "I supposed he had not by 66 his way of talking, and advised him not to rely on the Friendship of the Slaves, " which he might have reason to repent of when too late." And 'tis remarkable this very person was killed by them the

the next Night, as shall be presently related.

So finding that reasoning with these Men was to no Purpose, I told them, "When I came with my Boats to setch the Slaves, they should find me as refolute to chastise such of them as should dare to oppose me, as I had been condescending to convince them by arguing calmly." So I took my leave of their Captain, telling him, "I would come next Morning to finish the Affair."

could reach them with our Boats, some Sharks rose from the bottom, and tore them in Pieces. We came presently along the fide of the Ship, where we found two Men-Negroes holding by a Rope, with their Heads just above water; they were afraid, it feems, to swim from the Ship's fide, having feen their Companions devoured just before by the Sharks. These two Slaves we took into our Boat, and then went into the Ship, where we found the Negroes very quiet, and all under Deck; but the Ship's Company was on the Quarter-deck, in a great Confusion, faying, "The Cooper, who had been " placed centry at the Fore-hatch way, over the Men-Negroes, was, they be-" lieved, kill'd by them." I was furprized to hear this, wondring that these cowards fellows, who had so vigorously opposed my taking the Slaves out, a few hour before, had not Courage enough to venture forward, to fave their Ship-mate; but had fecured themselves by shutting the Quarter-deck-door, where they all stood with Arms in their Hands.

went

went to the fore-part of the Ship with fome of my People, and there we found the Cooper lying on his back quite dead, his Scull being cleft afunder with a Hatchet that lay by him. At the fight of this I called for the Linguist, and bid him ask the Negroes between Decks, " Who " had killed the white Man?" They answered, "They knew nothing of the " matter; for there had been no defign " of mutinying amongst them:" Which upon Examination we found true; for above one hundred of the Negroes then on board, being bought to Windward, did not understand a word of the Gold-Coast Language, and so had not been in the Plot. But this Mutiny was contrived by a few Cormantee-Negroes, who had been purchased about two or three days before. At last, one of the two Men-Negroes we had taken up along the Ship fide, impeached his Companion, and he readily confessed he had kill'd the Cooper, with no other View, but that he and his Countrymen might escape undiscovered by swimming on Shore. For on their coming N 2 upon

upon Deck, they observed, that all the white Men fet to watch were afleep; and having found the Cook's Hatchet by the Fire-place, he took it up, not defigning then to do any Mischief with it; but paffing by the Cooper, who was centry, and he beginning to awake, the Negroe rashly struck him on the head with it, and then jump'd overboard. Upon this frank Confession, the white Men would have cut him to Pieces; but I prevented it, and carried him to my own Ship. Early the next morning, I went on board the Elizabeth with my Boats, and fent away all the Negroes then in her, into my own Ship: not one of the other Ship's Company offering to oppole Two of them, the Carpenter and Steward, defired to go with me, which I readily granted; and by way of Security for the future Success of the Voyage, I put my chief Mate, and four of my under Officers (with their own Consent,) on board the Elizabeth; and they arrived, about five Months after this, at Jamaica, having disposed of most part of the Cargoe. After

After having fent the Slaves out of the Elizabeth, as I have just now mentioned. I went on board my own Ship; and there being then in the Road of Anamaboe, eight fail of Ships besides us, I sent an Officer in my Boat to the Commanders of them, " To defire their Company on board my " Ship, because I had an Affair of great " Consequence to communicate to them." Soon after, most of them were pleased to come; and I having acquainted them with the whole Matter, and they having also heard the Negroe's Confession, "That he had killed the white Man;" They unanimously advised me to put him to death; arguing, "That Blood required Blood, " by all Laws both divine and human; " especially as there was in this Case the " clearest Proof, namely the Murderer's " Confession: Moreover this would in " all probability prevent future Mischiefs; " for by publickly executing this Person " at the Ship's Fore-yard Arm, the Ne-" groes on board their Ships would fee it; " and as they were very much disposed to " mutiny, it might prevent them from " atattempting it." These Reasons, with my being in the same Circumstances, made me comply. And a way you broad an answer

Accordingly we acquainted the Negroe, that he was to die in an hour's time for murdering the white Man. He anfwered, " He must confess it was a rash ec Action in him to kill him; but he de er fired me to confider, that if I put him " to death, I should lose all the Money I " had paid for him." To this I bid the Interpreter reply, "That tho' I knew it es was customary in his Country to commute for Murder by a Sum of Money, es yet it was not so with us; and he " should find that I had no regard to my er Profit in this respect: For as soon as " an Hour-Glass, just then turned, was " run out, he should be put to death;" At which I observed he shewed no Con-

Hereupon the other Commanders went on board their respective Ships, in order to have all their Negroes upon Deck at the time of Execution, and to inform them of the oscasion of it. The Hour-Glass being

being run out, the Murderer was carried on the Ship's Forecastle, where he had a Rope fastened under his Arms, in order to be hoisted up to the Fore-yard Arm, to be shot to death. This some of his Countrymen observing, told him, (as the Linguist informed me afterwards) "That " they would not have him be frightened; " for it was plain I did not design to put " him to death, otherwise the Rope would " have been put about his neck, to hang " him." For it feems they had no thought of his being shot; judging he was only to be hoisted up to the Yard-arm, in order to scare him: But they immediately saw the contrary; for as foon as he was hoisted up, ten white Men who were placed behind the Barricado on the Quarter-deck, fired their Musquets, and instantly killed him. This struck a sudden Damp upon our Negroe-Men, who thought, that, on account of my Profit, I would not have executed him.

The Body being let down upon the Deck, the Head was cut off, and thrown overboard. This last part was done, to N 4 let

let our Negroes see, that all who offended thus, should be served in the same manner. For many of the Blacks believe, that if they are put to death and not discommembred, they shall return again to their own Country, after they are thrown overboard. But neither the Person that was executed, nor his Countrymen of Cormantee (as I understood afterwards,) were so weak as to believe any such thing; tho' many I had on board from other Countries had that Opinion.

When the Execution was over, I ordered the Linguist to acquaint the Men-Negroes, "That now they might judge, "no one that killed a white Man should be spared: And I thought proper now to acquaint them once for all, "That if "they attempted to mutiny again, I should be obliged to punish the Ring- leaders with death, in order to prevent further Mischief." Upon this they all promised to be obedient, and I assured them they should be kindly used, if they kept their Promise: which they saithfully did. For we sailed, two days after, from Anamabo.

Anamaboe for Jamaica; and tho' they were on board near four Months, from our going off the Coast, till they were sold at that Island, they never gave us the least reason to be jealous of them; which doubtless was owing to the Execution of the white Man's Murderer.

These three Mutinies, I have here related, are all that ever happened where I was present, tho' I have gone many Voyages to the Coast of Guinea. But I have heard of feveral, that have ended in a very tragical manner. However to avoid being tedious, I shall relate only one, which is very remarkable, and happen'd on board the Ferrers Galley of London Capt. Messervy; who by his over-care, and too great Kindness to the Negroes on board his Ship, was destroyed by them, and the Voyage at last came to nothing. I met this Gentleman at Anamaboe on the Coast of Guinea, in January 1722. At his coming on board my Ship, he informed me of his good fortune, in that he had purchased near 300 Negroes in a few Days, at a place called Cetre-Crue, on the the windward part of the Coast of Guinea; which happened in this manner.

It seems the Inhabitants of this place, which lies near the Sea-side, had been often misused by some inland People, who for a long time had treated them in a villainous manner, whenever they went to their Towns with Salt, or any other Commodities to fell. For knowing the Peo. ple of Cetre-Crue, did in a great measure depend on them for their Food, which is Rice, they took their Commodities, and gave them just what quantity of Rice they pleased, in exchange. The Cetre-Crues having long complained of this Injury, without redress, resolved to bear it no longer, but to revenge themselves by And they were crowned with Arms. Success, destroying and taking all the Inhabitants of the principal Town where they used to go and buy Rice.

Captain Messervy happened to anchor near Cetre-Crue just at that time, and had the opportunity of purchasing a great many of the Captives at an easy rate. For the Conquerors were glad to get something

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for them at that instant, since if a Ship had not been in the Road, they would have been obliged to have killed most of the Men-Captives, for their own Secu-

rity. After the Captain had told me this story, he defired me to spare him some Rice, having heard, I had purchased a great many Tuns to the Windward; where he had bought little, not expecting to meet with fo many Slaves. This request I could not comply with, having provided no more than was necessary for my felf, and for another of my Owner's Ships, which I quickly expected. And understanding from him, that he had never been on the Coast of Guinea before, I took the liberty to observe to him, "That as he had on board fo many Ne-" groes of one Town and Language, it " required the utmost Care and Ma-" nagement to keep them from mutiny-"ing; and that I was forry he had fo " little Rice for them: For I had experi-" enced that the Windward Slaves are al-" ways very fond of it, it being their " usual

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"usual Food in their own Country;

" and he might certainly expect diffatile

" factions and Uneafiness amongst them

" for want of a sufficient quantity."

This he took kindly, and having asked my Advice about other Matters, took his leave, inviting me to come next day to fee him. I went accordingly on board his Ship, about three a clock in the after. noon. At four a clock the Negroes went to Supper, and Captain Messervy defired me to excuse him for a quarter of an hour, whilst he went forward to see the Men-Negroes ferved with Victuals. I observed from the Quarter-Deck, that he himself put Pepper and Palm Oyl amongst the Rice they were going to eat. When he came back to me, I could not forbear observing to him, " How imprudent it was in him to do fo: For tho' it was " proper for a Commander fometimes co go forward, and observe how things were managed; yet he ought to take a " proper time, and have a good many of his white People in Arms when he es went;

went; or else the having him so much in their Power, might incourage the Slaves to mutiny: For he might depend upon it, they always aim at the chief Person in the Ship, whom they soon distinguish by the respect shown him by the rest of the People."

He thanked me for this Advice, but did not seem to relish it; saying, "He thought the old Proverb good, that "The Master's Eye makes the Horse fat." We then fell into other Discourse, and among other things he told me, "He designed to go away in a few days:" Accordingly he sailed three days after for samaica. Some Months after I went for that place, where at my arrival I found his Ship, and had the following melancholy account of his Death, which happened about ten days after he left the Coast of Guinea in this manner.

Being on the Forecastle of the Ship, amongst the Men-Negroes, when they were eating their Victuals, they laid hold on him, and beat out his Brains with the little

little Tubs, out of which they eat their boiled Rice. This Mutiny having been plotted amongst all the grown Negroes on board, they run to the fore-part of the Ship in a body, and endeavoured to force the Barricado on the Quarter-Deck, not regarding the Musquets or Half Pikes, that were presented to their Breasts by the white Men, through the Loop-holes, So that at last the chief Mate was obliged to order one of the Quarter-deck Guns laden with Partridge-Shot, to be fired amongst them; which occasioned a terrible Destruction: For there were near eighty Negroes kill'd and drowned, many jumping overboard when the Gun was fired. This indeed put an end to the Mutiny, but most of the Slaves that remained alive grew fo fullen, that feveral of them were starved to death, obstinately refusing to take any Sustenance: And after the Ship was arrived at Jamaica, they attempted twice to mutiny, before the Sale of them began. with their former Misbehaviour coming

be publickly known, none of the Planers cared to buy them, tho' offered at a low Price. So that this proved a very unsuccessful Voyage, for the Ship was detained many Months at Famaica on that account, and at last was lost there in a Hurricane.

The End of BOOK II.



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pleased to buy them, the offered at a low place. So that this proved a very unforces, the Yoyare, for the Ship, was detained many Mouths at Yamaica on that account.

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## BOOK III.

thor's being taken by Pirates, on the North part of the Coast of Guinea, in the Bird Galley of London, belonging to the late Humphrey Morrice Esq; who was sole Owner of the said Ship. Interspersed with several Instances of the Author's many Deliverances, and narrow Escapes from Death, during the time he was detain'd Prisoner by the Pirates.

In the beginning of November, in the Year 1718, the late Humphrey Morrice Esq; Merchant of London, appointed me Commander of the Bird Galley, and gave me Orders to go to Holland,

to take on board a Cargoe for the Coast of Africa: Having so done, we were unfortunately detained by contrary Winds at Helvoet-Sluys, till the 10th day of December, when a violent Storm arose, and in the night following forc'd our Ship on Shore, with feveral others, The Ship, by the Strength of the Wind, and height of the Tide, was carried with a great force against the Dike, or Bank that secures the Land from being overflowed on fuch high Tides, which frighten'd the Inhabitants thereabouts not a little. Moreover, the Waves made her work fo much on the Ground where she was stranded, that when the Tide had left her, we found she set seven foot deep abaft in the Strand; but had the Satisfaction to find, on Examination, the Ship had received no damage in her bottom. Having unloaded, and hired many Boors or Peasants, to dig a Trench of near 300 Foot in length to the low water mark, we waited some time for a high Tide; and then getting the Ship off, carried her into Helvoet-Sluys Peer.

Having

Having refitted and loaded again, we proceeded on our Voyage the latter end of January; but the Wind changing by the time we were off the Isle of Wight, and rifing to a great Storm westerly, we were forced into Spithead; where having lain some time, we sailed again with a fair Wind, which carried us above 70 Leagues to the westward of the Lizard. Here a severe Storm of Wind coming up at Southwest, obliged us to lye by, under reef'd Mainfail; and it increased to such violent Degree, that we expected to be wallowed up every Minute, by the great lea which ran Mountains high; but it pleased God, that after 24 Hours, it bean to abate, and we received no other amage, than the loss of the Lyon from te Ship's Cut-water, which was washed way by the Sea.

The Wind (after this Storm) remaing contrary a long time, with frequent
and Gales, obliged us at last to go for
implale in Ireland: Where having lain a
w days, and repaired the Ship's Head,
ith other things that were out of Order,

we failed from that place, with a northerly Wind, the 10th day of March 1718-19, and had a short and fine Passage to the River Sieraleon; on the North Coast of Guinea, in the Latitude of 8 Deg. 30 Min. where we arrived the first day of April 1719: We met with nothing remarkable in our Passage, except, that near the Canary Islands, we were chased by a Ship whom we judged to be a Sallec-Rover; but our Ship outsailing her, they soon gave over the Chase.

There were, at the time of our unfortunate Arrival in the above mentioned River, three Pirate Ships, who had then taken ten English Ships in that place. As it is necessary for illustrating this Story, to give an Account how these three Ships came to meet there, I must observe, That the first of them which arrived in the River, was called the Rising Sun, one Cocklyn Commander, who had not with him above 25 Men. These having been with one Captain Moody, famous Pirate, some Months before, in a Brigantine, which sailed very well, and

took the Rifing Sun, they were morooned by him, (as they call it) that is forced on board that Ship, and deprived of their share of the Plunder, taken formerly by the Brigantine. These People being obliged to go away in her, with little Provision and Ammunition, chose Cocklyn for their Commander, and made for the River Sieraleon; where arriving, they furprized in his Sloop, one Segnor Joseph, a black Gentleman, who had been formerly in England, and was a Person of good account in this Country. This Man's Ranfom procured the Pirates a sufficient supply of Provifion and Ammunition. Moreover, several Bristol and other Ships arriving soon after, were likewise taken; and many of their People entring with the Pirates, they had, when I fell into their hands, near 80 Men in all.

The Crue of the Brigantine, who, with their Captain Moody, had thus forced their Companions away in the Rising Sun, soon after repenting of that Action, it bred great Discontents among them; so that they quarrelled with their Captain

tain and some others, whom they thought the chief Promoters of it; and at last forced him, with twelve others, into an open Boat, which they had taken a sew days before, from the Spaniards of the Canary Islands; and as they never were heard of afterwards, doubtless they perished in the Ocean. After this, they chose one Le Bouse a Frenchman for their Commander, who carried them to the River Sieraleon, where they arrived about a Month after their parting with the Rising Sun.

At the first Appearance, of this Brigantine, Cocklyn and his Crew were under a great Surprize; but when they understood how Moody and some others had been served by them, they cheerfully joined

their Brethren in Iniquity.

On the same day also arrived one Captain Davis, who had been pirating in a Sloop, and had taken a large Ship at the Cape de Verd Islands. He coming into Sieraleon with her, it put the other two Pirates into some fear, believing at first it was a Man of War: But upon disco-

vering her black Flag at the Main-top-mast-head, which Pirate Ships usually hoist to terrify Merchant-Men; they were easy in their Minds, and a little time after, saluted one another with their Cannon.

This Davis was a generous Man, and kept his Crew, which confifted of near 150 Men, in good order; neither had he conforted or agreed to join with the others, when I was taken by Cocklyn; which proved a great Misfortune to me, as will appear afterwards. For I found Cocklyn and his Crew, to be a fet of the basest and most cruel Villains that ever were. And indeed they told me, after I was taken, "That they chose him for their Com-"mander, on account of his Brutality and Ignorance; having resolved never to have again a Gentleman-like Com-"mander, as, they said, Mcody was."

Upon mentioning this, I think it necessary to observe in this place, that the Captain of a Pirate Ship, is chiefly chosen to fight the Vessels they may meet with. Besides him, they chuse another principal Officer, whom they call Quarter-master,

who has the general Inspection of all Affairs, and often controuls the Captain's Orders: This Person is also to be the first Man in boarding any Ship they shall attack; or go in the Boat on any desperate Enterprize. Besides the Captain and Quarter-master, the Pirates had all other Officers as is usual on board Men of War.

I come now to give an account how I was taken by them. The day that I made the Land, when I was within three Leagues of the River's Mouth, it became calm in the Afternoon. Seeing a Smoke on Shore, I fent for my first Mate Mr. Simon Jones, who had been formerly at Sieraleon, where I had not; " bidding " him take the Pinnace, and go where " the Smoke was, to enquire of the Na-" tives, how Affairs stood up the River." "But he replied, " it would be to little " purpose, for no People lived there: As " to the Smoke we faw, he believed it " might be made by some Travellers who were roasting of Oysters on the Shore; and would be gone before he cc could

"could get a Mile from the Ship. More"over, as Night drew on, it would be
"difficult for him to find the Ship again."
Thinking this answer reasonable, I did
not press him further; tho' I understood
afterwards, there was a Town where the
Smoke appeared. But I did not then in
the least suspect Mr. Jones would have
proved such a Villain as he did afterwards.

About five a Clock in the Afternoon, a small Breeze arising from the Sea, and the Tide of Flood setting strong, we stood for the River's Mouth. At Sun-setting we perceived a Ship at Anchor, a great way up the River; which was the Pirate that took us soon after. The other two Pirate Ships, with their Prizes, were hid from our sight by a Point of Land.

It becoming calm about feven a Clock, and growing dark, we anchor'd in the River's Mouth; foon after which I went to Supper, with the Officers that usually eat with me. About eight a Clock the Officer of the Watch upon Deck, sent me word, "He heard the rowing of a "Boat,"

"Boat." Whereupon we all immediately went upon Deck; and the night being very dark, I ordered Lanthorns and Candles to be got ready, supposing the Boat might come from the Shore with some white Gentlemen, that lived there as free Merchants; or else from the Ship we had seen up the River a little while before we came to an Anchor. I ordered also, by way of Precaution, the first Mate to go into the Steerage, to put all things in order, and to send me forthwith twenty Men on the Quarter-deck with fire Arms and Cutlaces, which I thought he went about.

As it was dark, I could not yet see the Boat, but heard the noise of the rowing very plain: Whereupon I ordered the second Mate to hail the Boat, to which the People in it answered, "They belonged to the Two Friends, Captain Eliot of Barbadoes." At this, one of the Officers who stood by me, said, "He knew the Captain very well, and that he commanded a Vessel of that name." I replied, "It might be so; but I would

" would not trust any Boat in such a " place;" and ordered him to hasten the first Mate, with the People and Arms upon Deck, as I had just before ordered. By this time our Lanthorns and Candles were brought up, and I ordered the Boat to be hailed again: To which the People in it answered, "They were from " America:" And at the same time fired a volly of small Shot at the Ship, tho' they were then above Pistol shot from us; which showed the Boldness of these Villains: For there was in the Boat only twelve of them, as I understood afterwards, who knew nothing of the Strength of our Ship; which was indeed confiderable, we having 16 Guns, and 45 Men on board. But as they told me after we were taken, "They judged we were a " small Vessel of little force. Moreover, " they depended on the same good for-" tune as in the other Ships they had " taken; having met with no refistance: " For the People were generally glad of " an opportunity of entring with them:" Which last was but too true.

When

When they first began to fire, I called aloud to the first Mate, to fire at the Boat out of the Steerage Port-holes; which not being done, and the people I had ordered upon Deck with small Arms not appearing, I was extremely furprized; and the more, when an Officer came and told me, " The People would not take " Arms." I went thereupon down into the Steerage, where I faw a great many of them looking at one another. Little thinking that my first Mate had prevented them from taking Arms, Iasked them with fome Roughness, " Why they had " not obeyed my Orders?" Calling upon some brisk Fellows by name, that had gone a former Voyage with me, to defend the Ship; faying, " It would be " the greatest Reproach in the World to " us all, if we should be taken by a Boat." Some of them replied, "They would have taken Arms, but the Chest they ec were kept in could not be found." The reason of which will be related hereafter.

By this time the Boat was along the Ship's Side, and there being no body to oppose them, the Pirates immediately boarded us; and coming on the Quarter-deck, fired their Pieces several times down into the Steerage, and shot a Sailor in the Reins, of which Wound he died afterwards. They likewise threw several Granado-shells, which burst amongst us, so that 'tis a great wonder several of us were not killed by them, or by their Shot.

At last some of our People bethought themselves to call out for Quarter; which the Pirates granting, the Quarter-master came down into the Steerage, enquiring, "Where the Captain was?" I told him, "I had been so till now." Upon that he asked me, "How I durst order my Peo-"ple to fire at their Boat out of the Steerage? saying, that they had heard me repeat it several times." I answered, "I thought it my Duty to defend the Ship, if my People would have fought." Upon that he presented a Pistol to my Breast, which I had but just time

time to parry before it went off; so that the Bullet past between my Side and Arm. The Rogue finding he had not shot me, he turned the But-end of the Pistol, and gave me such a Blow on the Head as stunned me; so that I fell upon my Knees; but immediately recovering my self, I forthwith jumped out of the Steerage upon the Quarter-deck, where the Pirate Boatswain was.

He was a bloody Villain, having a few days before killed a poor Sailor, because he did not do fomething fo foon as he had ordered him. This cruel Monster was asking some of my People, "Where their Captain was." So at my coming upon Deck, one of them, pointing to me, faid, "There he is." Tho' the night was very dark, yet there being four Lanthorns with Candles, he had a full fight of me: Whereupon lifting up his broad Sword, he swore, " No Quarter should be given co to any Captain that offered to defend " his Ship," aiming at the same time a full stroke at my Head. To avoid it I stooped so low, that the Quarter-deck Rail

Rail received the Blow; and was cut in at least an inch deep: Which happily saved my Head from being cleft asunder: And the Sword breaking at the same time, with the force of the Blow on the Rail, it prevented his cutting me to pieces.

By good Fortune his Pistols, that hung at his Girdle, were all discharged; otherwife he would doubtless have shot me. But he took one of them, and with the But-end endeavoured to beat out my Brains, which some of my People that were then on the Quarter-deck observing, cried out aloud, "For God's fake "don't kill our Captain, for we never " were with a better Man." This turned the Rage of him and two other Pirates on my People, and faved my Life: But they cruelly used my poor Men, cutting and beating them unmercifully. One of them had his Chin almost cut off; and another received fuch a Wound on his Head, that he fell on the Deck as dead; but afterwards, by the care of our Surgeon he recovered.

All

All this happen'd in a few Minutes, and the Quarter-master then coming up, ordered the Pirates to tie our People's Hands, and told me, "That when they " boarded us, they let their Boat go adrift, and that I must send an Officer, with some of my People in our Boat to " look for theirs." Whereupon my first Mate, Mr. Simon Jones, who stood by, offered to go: And the Quarter-master telling him, "He must return quickly, otherwise he should judge that they " were run away with the Boat, in or-" der to go on Shore; and if they did " fo he would cut me to pieces:" Mr. Jones replied, " He would not stay above " a quarter of an Hour, but return whe-" ther he found the Boat or not." Happily for me he foon found her, and returned (tho' it was very dark) in less time than he had promised.

Then the Quarter-master took me by the hand, and told me, "My Life was "fase provided none of my People com-"plained against me." I replied, "I was

" fure none of them could."

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The Pirates next, loaded all their small Arms, and fired several Vollies for Joy they had taken us: Which their Comrades on board their Ship hearing, it being then very near us, tho we could not see it for the darkness of the Night, they concluded we had made Resistance, and destroyed their People.

It will be proper to observe here, that soon after we had anchored in the Mouth of the River Sieraleon, it became calm; and the Tide of Ebb beginning to come down, the Pirates cut their Cable, and let their Ship drive down with the Tide towards us, from the place where we had feen her at anchor; having fometime before sent their Boat against the Tide of Flood, to discover us. The Ship being by that means come near us, and feeing our Lights, without asking any Questions, gave us a Broad-side with their great Guns; verily believing we had destroyed their Boat and People. This put the Pirates on board us into Confusion, which I observing, asked the Quarter-master, "Why he did not call with the speakes ing

"ing Trumpet, and tell their Ship they had taken us?" Upon that he asked me angrily, "Whether I was asraid of go. ing to the Devil by a great Shot? For, as to his part, he hoped he should be fent to Hell one of these days by a Cannon Ball." I answered, "I hoped that would not be my Road." However, he followed my Advice, and informed their Ship, "They had taken a brave Prize, with all manner of good "Liquors and fresh Provisions on board."

Just after this, Cocklyn, the Pirate Captain, ordered them to dress a quantity of these Victuals; so they took many Geese, Turkeys, Fowls and Ducks, making our People cut their Heads off, and pull the great Feathers out of their Wings: But they would not stay till the other Feathers were pick'd off. All these they put into our great Furnace, which would boil Victuals for 500 Negroes, together with several Westphalia Hams, and a large Sow with Pig, which they only bowelled, leaving the Hair on. This strange medley filled the Furnace, and the

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Cook was ordered to boil them out of Hand.

As foon as the Pirate-ship had done firing, I asked the Quarter-master's leave, for our Surgeon to dress my poor People that had been wounded; and I likewise went into the Steerage, to have my Arm dress'd, it being very much bruised by the Blow given me by the Pirate-Boatswain. Just after that, a person came to me from the Quarter-master, desiring to know, "What a Clock it was by my Watch?" Which judging to be a civil way of demanding it, I fent it him immediately: desiring the Messenger to tell him, it was a very good going Gold Watch. When it was delivered to the Quartermaster, he held it up by the Chain, and presently laid it down on the Deck, giving it a kick with his Foot; faying, "It " was a pretty Foot-ball: On which, one of the Pirates caught it up, faying, "He " would put it in the common Chest to " be fold at the Mast.

I would not mention fuch trifling Circumstances, but that I judge they serve to thew shew the Humours and Temper of these

fort of People.

By this time I was loudly called upon to go on board the Pirate-ship. As soon as I came upon Deck, they hurried me over our Ship's fide into the Boat; but when we arrived along the fide of the Pirate-Veffel, I told them, " I was " disabled in my Arm, and so defired " their help to get me into their Ship:" Which was readily done. Then I was ordered to go on the Quarter-deck to their Commander, who faluted me in this manner. "I am forry you have met with bad usage after Quarter given, " but 'tis the Fortune of War some-" times. I expect you will answer truly " to all such Questions as I shall ask you; cotherwise you shall be cut to pieces; " but if you tell the Truth, and your " Men make no Complaints against you, " you shall be kindly used; and this shall " be the best Voyage you ever made in ee your Life, as you shall find by what " shall be given you." I thanked him for his good Intentions, telling him, "I

se was

" was content to stand on the footing he had proposed to me:"

Having answered all his Questions, one of which was, " How our Ship failed "both large, and on a wind?" I replying, "Very well:" He then threw up his Hat, saying, "She would make a "fine Pirate Man of War." When I heard that, I must own I could not but be concern'd for having answered so truly in that particular: But then confidering, that some of my People would no doubt have told them the same; and moreover, my Journal, when they look'd into it, would have made it plainly appear, which might have proved my Destruction, I fatisfied my Mind with these Reflections.

As, in this whole Affair, I greatly experienced the Providence of Almighty God, in his Goodness delivering me from the hands of these Villains, and from many Dangers; so the same good Providence gave me such a presence of Mind, that when I believed I was upon the point of being killed, such Terrors did not arise, as I had formerly experi-

P 3 enced,

enced, when in danger of Shipwrack And tho' I fared very hard, and endured great Fatigues during the time I was there Prisoner; yet praised be God, I enjoyed my Health: Submitting with that Resignation to the Will of the Almighty, as a Man ought to do in such severe Missortunes.

But to return to my Narrative, which the Remembrance of my past Dangers hath interrupted.

As foon as I had done answering the Captain's Questions, a tall Man, with four Pistols in his Girdle, and a broad Sword in his Hand, came to me on the Quarter-deck, telling me, "His name " was James Griffin, and that we had been School-fellows." Tho' I remembred him very well; yet having formerly heard, it had proved fatal to some who had been taken by Pirates, to own any Knowledge of them; Ireplied, "I could " not remember any fuch Person by " name." Upon that he mentioned some boyish Pranks that had formerly palso between us. But I still denying any Know

Knowledge of him, he told me, " He " supposed I took him to be one of the " Pirate's Crew, because I saw him armed " in that manner; but that he was a " forc'd Man, and had been lately chief "Mate to Captain James Creichton of " Bristol; who was then, with his Ship, " in the Possession of the Pirates in the " River, and had not been destroyed by " them, at his earnest intreaty: That since " his being forced, they had obliged him " to act as Master of the Pirate-ship; " and the reason of his being so armed, " was to prevent their imposing on him; " for there was hardly any amongst the " Crew of Pirates belonging to Captain " Cocklyn, but what were cruel Villains; " misusing much better Men than them-" selves, only for having the Misfortune " to fall into their Hands, as I had al-" ready experienced, and might find " hereafter; but he would himself take " care of me that night, in which would " be my greatest Danger; because many " of their People would foon get drunk " with the good Liquors found in my " Ship."

This generous Declaration was very acceptable to me, and I then readily owned my former acquaintance with him. Then he turned to Captain Cocklyn, and defired a Bowl of Punch might be made. Which being done, the Captain defired Mr. Griffin my Schoolfellow to show me the way to the great Cabbin, and he followed himself.

There was not in the Cabbin either Chair, or any thing else to fit upon; for they always kept a clear Ship ready for an Engagement: So a Carpet was spread on the Deck, upon which we fat down cross legg'd. Captain Cocklyn drank my Health, defiring, " I would not be cast " down at my Misfortune, for one of " the Boat's Crew who had taken us had " told him, My Ship's Company in gene-" ral spoke well of me; and they had "Goods enough left in the Ships they " had taken to make a Man of me." Then he drank several other Healths, amongst which was that of the Pretender, by the name of King James the Third, and thereby I found they were doubly

doubly on the fide of the Gallows, both as Traitors and Pirates.

It being by this time Midnight, my Schoolfellow desired the Captain, "To " have a Hammock hung up for me to " sleep in;" for it seems every one lay rough, as they called it, that is, on the Deck; the Captain himself not being allowed a Bed. This being granted, and soon after done, I took leave of the Captain, and got into the Hammock, tho' I could not sleep in my melancholy Circumstances. Moreover, the execrable Oaths and Blasphemies I heard among the Ship's Company, shock'd me to such a degree, that in Hell it self I thought there could not be worse; for tho' many Seafaring Men are given to swearing and taking God's Name in vain, yet I could not have imagined, human Nature could ever fo far degenerate, as to talk in the manner those abandoned Wretches did.

After I was got into the Hammock, Mr. Griffin, according to his Promise, walked by me, with his broad Sword in his Hand, to protect me from Insults.

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Some time after, it being about two a clock in the morning, the Pirate Boatswain (that attempted to kill me when taken) came on board very drunk, and being told I was in a Hammock, he came with his Cutlace near me. My generous Schoolfellow asked him what he wanted? he answered, " To slice my Liver, for I " was a vile Dog, for ordering my Peo-" ple to fire on their Boat; neither would " I deliver my Watch when the Quar-" termaster first demanded it." Upon hearing that, I told Mr. Griffin, " The " last was false, for I had immediately " fent it by a Messenger, who only asked, " what a clock it was? fuppofing the " Quarter-master expected it". Then Griffin bid the Boatswain keep his Distance, or else he would cleave his head afunder with his Broad Sword. Nevertheless, that bloody-minded Villain came on to kill me; but Mr. Griffin struck at him with his Sword, from which he had a narrow Escape, and then ran away: So I lay unmolested till day light. By that time the Fumes of the Liquor being gone off

off by Sleep amonst most of the Pirates, Mr. Griffin complained to the Quartermaster and Company, of the cruel Intention of the Boatswain towards me; representing, "They ought to observe " strictly that Maxim established amongst " them, not to permit any ill usage to " their Prisoners after Quarter given." At the hearing of this, many of them voted for his being whipp'd, tho' he was a great Favourite of several others. But thọ' I wish'd him hang'd in my Mind yet I thought it prudent to plead for him; faying, " I believed it was his being in " Liquor that was the cause of his using " me in that manner." So he received a general Order, not to give me the least Offence afterwards: Yet did that vile Wretch attempt once more to kill me, as shall be related in its due place.

I come now to relate, How Mr. Simon fones, my first Mate, and ten of my Men entred with the Pirates. The Morning after we were taken, he came to me, and said, "His Circumstances were bad at home: Moreover, he had a Wife whom he

" he could not love; and for these Reafons he had entred with the Pirates, and " figned their Articles." I was greatly furprized at this Declaration, and told him, "I was very forry to hear it, for I be-" liev'd he would repent when too late; and " as he had taken this Resolution rashly, " without communicating it to me, all " I could fay now would be to no Puror pose; neither would it be proper for " me, for the future, to have any Dif-" course with him in private." I saw this poor Man afterwards despised by his Brethren in Iniquity; and have fince been informed, he died a few Months after they left the River Sieraleon. However, I must do him the Justice to own, He never shewed any Disrespect to me; and the ten People he persuaded to enter with him, remained very civil to me, and of their own accord, always manned the fide for me, whenever I went on board the Ship they belonged to.

Several of these unhappy People soon after repented, and desired me to intercede for them, that they might be cleared again;

again; for they durst not themselves mention it to the Quarter-master, it being death by their Articles: But it was too nice a matter for me to deal in; and therefore I refused them.

Some days after this, one of these poor Men, whose name was Thomas Wilder, discovered things to me, of which I only had a suspicion before. After cursing Mr. Jones for perfuading him to enter with the Pirates, he faid to me, " That " feveral times in the Night-watch, be-" fore we came to Sieraleon, he had heard " him fay, That he hoped we should meet " with Pirates when we came to that River; " which he then thought to be spoken " only in jest; but now he found it too " true". As I seemed not to believe this he called another of our People, who confirmed what he had told me. "Then "I asked them the Reason why the " Chest of Arms was put out of the place " where it usually stood at the Steerage; " and where it was hid in the time we "were taken?" They answered, "I " might remember, that the Morning

" we made Land, I ordered the Steerage " to be clean'd; to do which all the " Chests there were carried between Decks; and after the Steerage was " clean'd, all the Chests were brought " back again in their places, except the " Chest of Arms, which was left behind " by the Mate's Order: That when I " called to the People in the Steerage to " fire on the Pirate-boat, supposing Mr. " Jones had delivered them Arms accor-" ding to my Order, many of the Men " would have broken the Chest open, but " he prevented them, by declaring, This " was an opportunity he had wished for; " and that if they fired a Musquet, they " would be all cut to pieces. And they further assured me, that to induce them to enter with the Pirates, he had declared to them, That I had promised him to enter my self. Putting all this together, with what feveral of the Pirates told me afterwards, namely, That he had been the chief occasion of their keeping my Ship, it was a wonder that I escaped so well, having fuch a base Wretch for my principal But Officer.

But to resume the thread of my Story. As foon as the Fumes of the Liquor were gone out of the Pirates Heads, they all went on board the Prize, as they called my Ship, about eight a clock in the morning, it being the second day of April. Mr. Jones, who had been my first Mate, went with them; and he having confirmed them in their intention of keeping the Ship for their own use, all hands went to work to clear the Ship, by throwing over board Bales of Woollen Goods; Cases. of India Goods; with many other things of great Value: So that before night they had destroyed between three and four thousand Pounds worth of the Cargoe. For they had little regard to these things, Money and Necessaries being what they chiefly wanted. The fight of this much grieved me, but I was obliged in prudence to be filent. For my Schoolfellow told me, I was still under the displeasure of many of them, on account of my ordering my People to fire on their Boat when they took me.

There were then residing at Sieraleon. several Englishmen who traded on their own accounts; And among the rest, one Captain Henry Glynn, who was fince Go. vernor for the Royal African Company at Gambia, and died there. This Gentleman was an honest generous Person, and of so much Integrity, that tho' he had suffered by the Pirates when they first landed, yet he would never accept of any Goods from them, which they had often press'd him to receive for his own use. This Conduct, with an engaging deportment, so gained him the Good-will of the Pirates, that they were ready to oblige him in whatever he requested Captain Glynn and my self having formerly been acquainted, as foon as he heard of my being taken, he engaged Captain Davis and Le Boose, the Commanders of the two other Pirate Ships, who were then on Shore at his House, to come on board with him to fee me. I was very agreeably surprized with his coming that Afternoon, and both the Pirate Captains that came with him faluted me civilly. Captain

Captain Davis told me, "He knew me," tho' I never could recollect where I had feen him; and I found, he did not care to tell, where he had feen me.

Soon after this, Captain Cocklyn with his Quarter-master and others, came from the Prize on board their old Ship, to compliment Captain Davis and the rest that came with him. After the Compliments were over, Captain Davis generously said, "He was ashamed to hear how I had " been used by them. That they should " remember, their Reasons for going a pi-" rating were to revenge themselves on " base Merchants, and cruel Commanders " of Ships. That as for the Owner of " the Prize, he had not his Fellow in " London for Generofity and Goodness to " poor Sailors, as he had formerly heard " from others, and now from Captain " Glynn: That as for my part, no one of " my People, even those that had entered " with them, gave me the least ill Cha-" racter: But by their respect since shewn " me, it was plain they loved me. That " he indeed had heard the occasion of " my

" my ill usage, and of the ill-will some " still bore me, was, because I had or-" dered my People to defend the Ship: Which he blamed them exceedingly " for; faying, If he had had the good " fortune to have taken me, and I had " defended my Ship against him, he " should have doubly valued me for it: "That as he was not in Partnership with them, he would fay no more at prefent; " but that he hoped they would now use me kindly, and give me some Necesfaries, with what remained undestroyed of my private Adventure." This was by no means relished by this pack of Miscreants; for in their Hearts they hated Captain Davis, because he kept his Ship's Company in good order, tho' they were almost double their Number; and being a brave generous Man, they dreaded his Refentment. However Cocklyn, and the chief of his People putting a good face on the matter, invited him and Captain Glynn on board the Prize; and they two defiring I might accompany them, it was

Soon

readily granted.

Soon after we were on board, we all went into the great Cabin, where we found nothing but Destruction. Two Scrutores I had there were broke to Pieces, and all the fine Goods and Necessaries in them were all gone. Moreover two large Chests that had Books in them were empty; and I was afterwards informed, they had been all thrown overboard; for one of the Pirates, upon opening them, fwore, "There " was Jaw-work enough (as he called it) " to serve a Nation, and proposed they " might be cast into the Sea; for he " feared, there might be some Books " amongst them, that might breed Mif-"chief enough; and prevent some of " their Comrades from going on in their " Voyage to Hell, whither they were all "bound." Upon which the Books were all flung out of the Cabin-windows into the River.

After the Company were all fat down in the Cabin, they were treated with all forts of Liquors, and other things, that had once been mine: By this means the chief Pirates being put into a good hu-

mour, my Friend captain Glynn took the opportunity of begging of the Quarter-master several Necessaries for me: Which being readily granted, they were tied up in Bundles, and Captain Glynn designed to take them on Shore with him to his House for me. But an unlucky accident happened, which made me lose them all

again.

For some of Captain Davis's People coming on board at that time; one of them, a pert young fellow of eighteen, broke a Chest open to plunder it. The Quarter-master hearing of it, goes out of the Cabin, and asks the reason of his so doing; the young Man replied, " As " they were all Pirates, he thought he " did what was right." On that the Quarter master strikes at him with his broad Sword, but the young Man running away, escaped the Blow, and fled for protection into the great Cabin to his Master Captain Davis. The Quarter-master pursues him in a great Passion; and there not being room amongst so many of us, to make a stroke at him, he made a thrust with

with his Sword, and flit the Ball of one of the young Man's Thumbs, and flightly wounded at the same time Captain Davis on the back of one of his Hands. Davis upon that was all on Fire, and vowed Revenge, faying, " That tho' his Man had " offended, he ought to have been first " acquainted with it; for no other Person " had a right to punish him in his Pre-" fence;" and immediately goes on board his own Ship. Where telling the Story to his Ship's Company, they all refolved forthwith to revenge this great injury done to one of their Comrades, and the Indignity shown their Captain. Upon that they slip one of their Cables, and begun to heave on the other, in order to come and board Cocklyn's Ship, and destroy such a set of vile Fellows, as they called him and his Crew. When Captain Davis went from the Prize, Cocklyn foon followed, and went on board his own Ship, to get all things in a readiness to defend himself. Captain Glynn and my felf only remained behind, and hoped quickly to have feen hot work between them; them; but Cocklyn having consulted his People, and judging they should be no ways able to cope with Captain Davis, hastily came on board the Prize again, and desired Captain Glynn to go on board Davis with him, in order to make up matters. My Friend would have resused this unpleasant Office, if he durst; but on his not readily complying, Cocklyn grew enraged. I fearing the consequences, persuaded him to go: Which Cocklyn was so well pleased with, that he often spoke of it afterwards to my advantage.

By the time they came on board Davis, his Ship was just on Ecklyn's Anchor, and tho' Captain Glynn was a well-spoken ingenious Man, he found it very difficult to compromise the Matter: Which at last was done on these Terms; "That "Captain Davis and his Ship's Com-"pany, should have their share of Li-"quors and Necessaries on board the Prize; and, That the Quarter-master, "who had wounded the young Man be-"longing to Davis, should before all his Crew acknowledge his fault, and

Night

of ask Pardon for the same."

Night now approaching, Captain Glynn was obliged to go on Shore, without calling upon me for the Things he had begged, intending to come next day for them. Being thus left on board the Prize, with only three or four of the Pirates, amongst whom the bloody-minded Boatswain (formerly mentioned) was one; and there being no Boat along the side at that time, I resolved to stay where I was all night, and not hail their Pirate-Ship to send their Boat for me.

The Pirate-Carpenter was then lying on my Bed in the State-room; fo I fat fome time by my felf in the Cabin, having a Candle by me on a Table. When he awoke, he civilly defired me to go and take fome rest; saying, "He feared I had not had any since I was taken." I returned him thanks, saying, "I would if the up till eight a clock: Whereupon he came and sat down by me on the Lockers, abaft in the Cabin.

The Boatswain came down soon after this, and being a little in Liquor, began to abuse me. On that the Carpenter told Q 4 him,

him, "He was a base Villain," and turned him out of the Cabin. Soon after, a puff of Wind coming in at one of the Cabin Windows, put our Candle out; and the Carpenter and I rising up together, to blow the Candle in again, (but not being able to do it) we accidentally shifted places in the dark, he seating himself just over against the Cabin Door, where I sat before: And having no Tinder-box, we were at a great loss how to light the Candle again.

While we were considering how to do it, the Boatswain came into the Steerage, and finding the Candle out, began to swear and rant, saying, "I had put it out "purposely, with design to go into the Powder-room undiscovered, and blow the Ship up." But the Carpenter called to him, and told him, "It was done by accident, and that I still sat by him on the Locker." So he came to the Cabin Door, and by the Star-light that came in at the Windows, perceived us sitting; but could not distinguish our Faces. Thinking I sat still in the Place where

he had seen me before, he presented a Pistol, and drew the Trigger, swearing, "At that instant, he would blow my "Brains out." By good fortune the Pistol did not go off, but only flash'd in the Pan: By the Light of which the Carpenter observing that he should have been shot instead of me, it so provoked him, that he run in the dark to the Boatswain; and having wrenched the Pistol out of his hand, he beat him, with that and his Fist, to such a Degree, that he almost killed him.

The noise that was made in this Fray being heard on board the Pirate-ship that lay close to us, a Boat was sent from her; and they being informed of the Truth of the matter, the Officer that was in her, thought sit to carry away this wicked Villain, who had three times attempted to murder me.

After this I slept soundly, having been much fatigued; but I was awaked early in the Morning by a great number of Captain Davis's Crew, who came on board to take part of the Liquors and Necessaries, according

cording to Agreement. It was very furprizing to see the Actions of these People. They and Cocklyn's Crew (for Le Boofe's were not yet admitted) made fuch Waste and Destruction, that I am fure a numerous fet of fuch Villains would in a short time, have ruined a great City. They hoisted upon Deck a great many half Hogsheads of Claret, and French Brandy; knock'd their Heads out, and dipp'd Canns and Bowls into them to drink out of: And in their Wantonness threw full Buckets of each fort upon one another. As foon as they had emptied what was on the Deck, they hoisted up more: And in the evening washed the Decks with what remained in the Casks. As to bottled Liquor of many forts, they made fuch havock of it, that in a few days they had not one Bottle left: For they would not give themselves the trouble of drawing the Cork out, but nick'd the Bottles, as they called it, that is, Aruck their necks off with a Cutlace; by which means one in three was generally broke: Neither was there any Cask-liquor left in a short time, but a little French Brandy.

As to Eatables, such as Cheese, Butter, Sugar, and many other things, they were as soon gone. For the Pirates being all in a drunken Fit, which held as long as the Liquor lasted, no care was taken by any one to prevent this Destruction: Which they repented of when too late.

As for my things, which the Quarter-master had given me at Captain Glynn's Request, and which were accordingly bundled up; a company of drunken Pirates coming into the Cabin, and stumbling over some Goods that lay on the Floor, they took them, with three of my Bundles, and threw them overboard; swearing, "They had like to have broken "their Necks by those things lying in their way."

I had then but one Bundle left, in which was a black Suit of Cloaths, and other things which this Gang had spared. They being gone out of the Cabin, a Pirate, who was tolerably sober, came in soon after, and seeing my Bundle, said, "He would see what was in it;" which in prudence I did not oppose. He then

then took out my black Cloth Cloaths, a good Hat and Wig, and some other Things. Whereupon I told him, " Cap-" tain Cocklyn's Quarter-master had given " them to me; and I hoped he would not " deprive me of them; for they were of " no service to him in so hot a Country, " but would be of great use to me, as I " should soon return to England." I had hardly done speaking, when he lifted up his broad Sword, and gave me a Blow on the Shoulder with the flat fide of it; whispering at the same time these Words in my Ear, " I give you this Caution, " never to dispute the Will of a Pirate: " For, supposing I had cleft your Scull " asunder for your Impudence, what would you have got by it but Destructi-" on? Indeed you may flatter your felf, " I should have been put to death for kil-" ling a Prisoner in cold Blood; but assure " your felf my Friends would have brought " me off on fuch an Occasion." I gave him thanks for his Admonition, and foon after he put on the Clothes, which in less than half an hour after, I faw him take off

off and throw overboard. For some of the Pirates seeing him dress'd in that manner, had thrown several Buckets of Claret upon him. This Person's true name was Francis Kennedy. He was afterwards hang'd at Execution-Dock, but he told me at the time he put my Cloaths on, that his name was Sun; asking me, "If I did not know his Father, who was "then Commander of a Ship that used the "Barbadoes Trade; and that if ever the "old Dog fell in his way, he would kill "him." To which I answered, "I knew no such Person."

When night came on, I had nothing left of what had been bundled up, but a Hat and Wig. I must own, that whenever they plundered me, no Affront was offered to my Person; but several brought me Liquor, and Slices of Ham broiled, a Biscuit being my Plate; saying, "They pitied my Condition." The Hat and Wig I had left, being hung on Pins in the Cabin, a person half drunk came in about eight a clock at night, and put them on; telling me, "He was a great "Merchant

" Merchant on Shore, and that his name " was Hogbin:" But supposing him to bea Pirate, I said little to him. By this time there was a great Quietness in the Ship, most of the Pirates being dead drunk, After a little Conversation, as Mr. Hogbin was going out of the Cabin with my Hat and Wig on, he met Cocklyn's Quarmaster; who knowing him not to be one of the Crew, asked him, " How he came " by the things he had on?" To which the Fellow not returning a direct answer, the Quarter-master beat him very severely, for taking things he had no Right to: Then coming to me, he asked in a kind manner, "How I had fared in the hurly " burly of that Day?" When I told him, " I had lost all the Necessaries he had " given me the Day before," he express'd much concern, and faid, "He would " take care the next day to recover what " he could for me." But he did not prove fo good as his word.

The next day, which was the third fince my being taken, Le Boofe's Crew were permitted to come on board the Prize:

Where

Where they finished what was left of Liquors and Necessaries; acting in the same destructive manner as their vile Bre-

thren in Iniquity had done before.

Being quite weary of such Company, and understanding, the three Pirate Captains were on Shore at my Friend Captain Glynn's House, I asked leave of the Quarter-master to go to them; which he readily granted. On this I got into a Cannoe, and as we rowed towards the Shore, we had like to have been overset, through the drunkenness of one of the Pirates that was with us. If Providence had not prevented this Accident, we should undoubtedly have all been lost; for the Tide ran very strong, and several voracious Sharks were then near us.

When I came to Captain Glynn's, he and the Pirate Captains received me in a very civil manner; and upon my telling them, "How I had lost all my Necessaries that had been given me;" the Captains promised, That the next day they would do what they could, to recover some of them again for me. Then I begged

begged a Shirt of my Friend Captain Glynn; for I had been three days without shifting, which is very uneasy in so hot a Country, where people sweat so much.

Being greatly refresh'd with that clean Shirt, and having stayed all night with him, where I had more rest than I before had for a good while; next day I went on board, in company with the Pirate-Captains. Captain Davis defired Cocklyn to order all his People on the Quarterdeck, and made a Speech to them in my behalf; which they relishing better than that he had formerly made, It was refolved to give me the Ship they defigned to leave, in order to go into the Prize, with the Remains of my Cargoe that was undestroyed. And there being a large quantity of Goods likewise remaining in feveral Prizes, they concluded to give me them also: Which, with my own, were worth feveral thousand Pounds. One of the leading Pirates proposed to the rest, " That they should take me along with them down the Coast of Guinea; where " I might exchange the Goods for Gold: 66 And

" And if in order to make a quick Sale, " I fold them at prime cost, I should get " Money enough by them: That, no " doubt, as they went down the Coast, " they should take some French and Por-" tuguese Vessels, and then they might " give me as many of their best Slaves, " as would fill the Ship: That then he " would advise me to go for the Island of " St. Thomas in the West Indies, a Free-" port belonging to the Danes, and fell " them there, with the Veffel: And af-" ter rewarding my People in a handsom " manner, I might return with a large " fum of Money to London, and bid the " Merchants defiance."

This proposal was unanimously approved of by them: But it struck me with a sudden damp, apprehending it would be fatal to me. So I began to infinuate, It would not be proper for me to accept of such a quantity of other Peoor ples Goods, as they had so generously voted for me: And going on to give my reasons, I was immediately interrupted by several of the Pirates, who began

to be very angry, that I did not readily accept of what had been proposed, so much for my advantage, as they thought; for many of them were so ignorant, as to think their Gift would have been legal.

On this, Captain Davis said, "Iknow " this Man, and can eafily guess his " thoughts concerning this matter; for " he thinks, if he should act in the manner you have proposed, he shall " ever after lose his Reputation. Now " I am for allowing every body to go to the Devil in their own way; so desire " you will give him the remains of his " own Cargoe, with what is left of his " private Adventure, and let him do with " it what he thinks fitting."

This was readily granted, and they advised me to take Le Boose's Brigantine, which he had then just quitted, (having fitted one of the Prizes for a Pirate-ship for him and his Crew) and carry her along the fide of my Ship, in order to fave the Goods then left undestroyed in her; allowing me some of my own People to do it. By this means we faved a confiderable

derable part of the Cargoe, but of my private Adventure not above thirty Pounds Sterling: for that chiefly confisting in Necessaries and Liquors, with fine Goods, was soon destroyed by them: One instance of which out of many I shall give. The Pirates took several Pieces of sine Holland, and opening them, spread them on the Deck; and being almost drunk, lay down on them: Then others came and threw Buckets of Claret upon them, which rousing them up, and the Hollands being thereby stained, they slung the Pieces overboard.

Captain Davis likewise further obtained for me, that I might lye on board the Two Friends Captain Elliot of Barbadoes; whom they had taken and forced to be their Store Ship; and that I might go on Shore when I pleased, to my Friend Captain Glynn's house, on condition I should return whenever they sent for me.

And now, the Tide being turned, they were as kind to me, as they had been at first severe. So we got the Brigantine along the side of the Prize, and as Bale-

R 2 goods

goods and Cases came to hand, we got them into her; only now and then we lost some, by the ill-nature of two or three leading Pirates: For if we could not receive the Goods so fast as they expected, with the sew People I had of my own then with me, they would let them drop overboard.

The same they did by a quantity of Irish Beef, the first day after I was taken; for they despised it, having found so much English, in the several Prizes they had met with in the River. This fight moved me to intreat Captain Cocklyn to give me the Irish Beef they were going to throw overboard; for the use of my poor People that had not entered with them. But I being then under the high Displeasure of him and his Crew, he brutishly replied, "There is Horse-beans enough in " the Prize to serve you and your Peo-" ple fix Months." To which I answered, " It was coarse diet." But finding this put him into a passion, I held my Tongue, and the Beef was all cast into the Sea.

In this place I think it proper to acquaint the Reader, What danger all the Prisoners were in by a false Report brought on board the Prize Ships that afternoon. For it was confidently averred by some Negroes, " That one of their Crew was " murdered, by two Captains, whose " names were Bennet and Thompson, who " had been obliged to fly into the Woods " from the rage of the Pirates." And they added, " That these two Gentlemen " coming to the House of one Mr. Fones, " (who lived a great way up the River) " to feek for Provisions, they there met " with the person whom they had killed." Upon this report the Pirates resolved to revenge themselves on us who were their prisoners: " Which obliged me to argue " with them, and observe how great a " cruelty it would be, to punish us who " were wholly innocent, for the faults " of others." Moreover I faid, " The " report might be false, it coming from " the Shore-Negroes; and I hoped at " least they would defer their resentment " against us, till they had a more certain " account

"account of the matter." This calmed their Rage a little, when, to our great Joy, the Person that was reported to be killed, came on board soon after; and told his Comrades, that he had met with Captain Bennet and Thompson at Mr. Jones's House, who threatned him; from which the report arose that they had killed him; but that they had not otherwise misused him: So on this their Passion was entirely calmed.

As I have mentioned these two Captains, Bennet and Thompson, I shall give an account of their Misfortunes, which I had afterwards from their own Mouths. Captain John Bennet, being bound from Antegoa to the Coast of Guinea, was taken at Cape de Verd Islands by Davis. Who, after plundering him, restored him his Ship; and he went into the River Siera. leon, where Captain Thompson was arrived before him. Upon Cocklyn the Pirate's coming into the River, they carried their Ships a good way up, to a place called Brent's-Island, being the Settlement of the Royal African Company; where one Mr. Plunket

Plunket was Governour. Having got their Ships very near the Shore, they made a Battery thereon, and having landed Ammunition, resolved with their People to defend themselves to the utmost: thinking at that time they would remain faithful. Le Boose being arrived in his Brigantine, and hearing that several Ships were up the River, he resolved to have one of them for his use; so he went up to attack them, and they bravely defended themselves against him: But, foon after, Cocklyn coming with his Ship to the affistance of Le Boose, their People begun to faulter; and these gallant Captains were, for faving their Lives, obliged, with Mr. Plunket, and several of their Officers, to fly into the Woods: Where, for many Weeks, they remained, having nothing to subsist on but Rice, with now and then some Oysters, which they got by night from the River side: neither durst they appear near the place where the Pirates were (as long as they remained there) for they had vowed to cut them to pieces, if ever they fell into their hands. Moreover, their Ships were burni, R 4

burnt, and Le Boose took for his own use, one Captain Lamb's Ship, which at that time lay farther up the River. I thought proper to relate this, in order to set the story in a better light, tho' it happen'd some Weeks before I was taken.

But now, to return to my Subject. I was relating, how we were employed in faving what Goods we could. This took us up four days; and I slept every night on board their Tender commanded by Captain Elliot, who was very kind to me, and had a great ascendant over the leading Pirates: fo that he had feldom the Company of the common fort, having orders to drive them away, whenever they came on board him. And I have often been amazed, to hear and fee what he has done to fome of them when they were impudent; beating them, and faying, " He was fure " he should see them hang'd in due time at Execution-dock." However, by this means we were generally very easy on board him, which was no little satisfaction to me in my Circumstances.

About

About this time the Quarter-master who took me, fell fick of a Fever; which increasing, he sent to speak with me: And having defired all prefent, except my felf to withdraw, he told me, " That " at the time I was taken, he defigned to " have killed me, when he presented the " Pistol to my breast; begging I would forgive him for his cruel Intention:" Which I readily doing, he further faid, "That he had been a most wicked "Wretch, having been guilty of all man-'e ner of abominable Crimes; and that now " believing he should die, his Conscience " fadly tormented him, fearing he should be punished, as he deserved, in Hell-fire, which so often in their vile discourse he " had made light of." Upon hearing that, " I exhorted him to fincere Repen-" tance; telling him, the Christian Reli-" gion affured us of God's Mercies, if we " are truly penitent; and I instanced the " goodness of God to my self, in that he " was graciously pleased to preserve me, " the night I was taken, from being mur-" dered by him and others; which great " Mercies

Mercies I believed were shown me, " because I put my Hope and Trust in " Almighty God; and exhorted him to do the same." But he replied, with a fad countenance. "O, Sir, my heart is hardened; however, I will endeavour to follow your good counsel". As he was going on, expressing his forrow for his former course of Life, some of the Pirates broke in upon us, to ask him, " How he did?" So he called his Boy, and, as a mark of his Good-will towards me, ordered him to take the Key of his Cheft, and let me take out what Necessaries I would. Accordingly I took that opportunity of providing my felf with Shirts, Stockings, and feveral other things. I was taking them out, a Pirate coming from the Deck, and knowing nothing of the Quarter-master's order, called out aloud; " fee how that Dog is thieving " there: He does it as cleverly as any Rogue of us all." But being told, " It " was with the Quarter-master's leave," he came and helped me to bundle the things up, and I fent them on board the Tender.

Tender. These were the first Necessaries which I could call my own, since my Missortune.

The Quarter-master that evening falling into a Delirium, died before morning in terrible Agonies; curfing his Maker in so shocking a manner, that it made a great Impression on several new entered Men: and they afterwards came privately to me, begging, " that I would advise " them how to get off from fo vile a " Course of Life, which led them into " Destruction both of Body and Soul. " Some of them proposed to fly into the "Woods, and remain there till their "Ships were gone, if I would promise " to protect them afterwards; but this " being too nice a matter for me to " meddle with at that Juncture, I de-" clined it; Exhorting them in general, " Not to be guilty of Murder, or any " other Cruelty to those they should " take. For if ever they should, by a " general consent, resolve to embrace " the King's Pardon, it would be a great Advantage to them, to have the unforcc tunate " tunate People they had taken give them

" a good Character in that respect."

Having mentioned the King's Pardon, I shall here relate what I before omitted, with relation to his late Majesty's Proclamation, for a Pardon to Pirates, that should surrender themselves at any of the British Plantations, by the first of July 1719. This Proclamation I had on board, with a Declaration of War against Spain. The Quarter-master finding them amongst my Papers, and not being able to read, he brought them to me, the next day after I was taken, and "bid me read them " aloud to all then present;" which I did: But there being Rewards offered in the Proclamation, to those that should take or destroy Pirates; so much for a Captain; and in proportion for the other Officers and common Pirates; this put them into fuch a Rage, that I began to apprehend my self in some Danger. But Captain Cocklyn ordering filence to be made, bid me read the other Paper, which was The Declaration of War against Spain. When I had read it, some of them said, " They

"They wished they had known it before "they left the West Indies." From thence I took occasion to observe to them, "That if they thought fit to embrace " his Majesty's most gracious Pardon, " there was not only time enough for " them to return to the West Indies, (there " being still three Months to come of the " time limited in the Proclamation) but " now that War was declared against " Spain, they would have an opportunity " of inriching themselves in a legal way, " by going a privateering, which many " of them had privately done." This seemed to be relished by many: but several old Buccaneers, who had been guilty of Murder and other barbarous Crimes, being no ways inclined to it, they used the King's Proclamation with great contempt, and tore it in pieces. I thought my felf well off, that no Refentment or ill-usage was shown me on this occasion.

Amongst the several Pirates, that came to consult me, "How they should get "off." There was one Ambrose Curtis, who was in a bad state of Health, and generally

generally walked the Deck in a Silk Night-gown. This person finding me shy in answering his Questions, he told me, " Tho' I had forgot him, yet he " had not me; for he was eleven years " ago at Sea with my Father, who had " used him severely for being an unlucky " Boy: That I might remember, my " Father died in Virginia, and I com-" manded the Ship afterwards, and " brought her home to England; having " been very kind to him, except in one " thing, which was, That he having confessed to me, he was a Servant, and " run away from his Master, I refused to " pay him his Wages, till he brought a " person who gave me Security that I " should not pay them twice; and then " he had his Wages to a farthing: Ad-"ding, "he had told this to feveral lead-" ing Pirates, who had perfuaded him to " revenge himself on me; but as I had " been kind to him, and in his Conscience he believed I was in the right, to demand " Security when I paid him his Wages, " fo he bore no ill-will to me on that

66 ac-

" account; and when my necessaries came " to be sold at the Mast, he would buy " some of them for me;" in which he proved as good as his word.

But as to his Questions about getting off, I replied as I had done to others; "Assur-" ing him, if ever it came to be in my power to serve him, I would not spare for Money nor Pains to do it:" But this poor fellow died, before the Pirates lest Sieraleon.

I hope the Reader will pardon me for mentioning several things, which are not so coherent as I could wish; as also several little Incidents. The reason why I mention them is, because I think they display the true humours and ways of these Miscreants.

Amongst my Adventure of Goods, I had in a Box three second-hand embroidered Coats. One day the three Pirate Captains, coming on board the Prize together, enquired for them, saying, "They understood by my Book such Clothes were in my Ship." I told them, "They were in a Box under the bed place in the

" State-

" State-room. So they ordered them to " be taken out, and immediately put " them on." But the longest Coat falling to Cocklyn's share, who was a very short Man, it almost reached as low as his Ancles. This very much displeased him, and he would fain have changed with Le Boose, or Davis: But they refused, telling him, " As they were going on Shore amongst the Negroe-Ladies, who did not know the white Mens " fashions, it was no matter. Moreover, " as his Coat was Scarlet embroidered " with Silver, they believed he would " have the preference of them, (whose " Coats were not fo showy) in the opini-" on of their Mistresses." This making him easy, they all went on Shore together.

It is a Rule amongst the Pirates, not to allow Women to be on board their Ships, when in the Harbour. And if they should take a Prize at Sea, that has any Women on board, no one dares, on pain of death, to force them against their Inclinations. This being a good political Rule

Rule to prevent disturbances amongst them, it is strictly observed. So now being in a Harbour, they went on Shore to the Negroe-women, who were very fond of their Company, for the sake of the great Presents they gave them. Nay, some white Men that lived there, did not scruple to lend their black Wives to the Pirates, purely on account of the great Rewards they gave.

The Pirate Captains having taken these Cloaths without leave from the Quartermaster, it gave great Offence to all the Crew; who alledg'd, " If they fuffered " fuch things, the Captains would for " the future assume a Power, to take " whatever they liked for themselves." So, upon their returning on board next Morning, the Coats were taken from them, and put into the common Cheft, to be fold at the Mast. And it having been reported, " That I had a hand in " advising the Captains to put on these " Coats," it gained me the ill-will in particular of one Williams, who was Quarter-master of Le Boose's Ship. He feeing

feeing me in the Tender's Boat, going on board a French Ship lately taken, where he then was, he swore, " That if I came " there, he would cut me to pieces, for " the advice I had given the Captains." But Captain Elliot, who was then in the Boat, whispered me, saying, " Don't be " afraid of him, for it is his usual way of " talking. But be sure call him Captain, as " foon as you get on board." It feems this Villain had been Commander of a Pirate Sloop; who, with a Brigantine, two years before, took Captain Laurence Prince in the Whidaw Galley near Jamaica; and being now Quarter-master, which he did not like, he loved to have the Title of Captain given him. So when I came into the French Ship, I adressed my felf to him, saying, " Captain Wil-" liams, pray hear me upon the Point you " are so offended at." Upon that he gave me a flight Blow on the Shoulder, with the flat of his Cutlace, swearing at the same time, " he had not the heart to hurt me;" When I had told him how the affair had really happen'd, which he had been

been so angry about, he gave me a Keg of Wine, and was my Friend ever after.

The French Ship just now mentioned, fell into their hands about a fortnight after I was taken by them, in this manner. It was not bound to Sieraleon, but having not had an Observation for several days, because the Sun was near their Zenith, they made land unexpectedly; and not knowing certainly whereabouts they were, but seeing several Ships in the River at an Anchor, they came boldly towards them.

I was then on board Captain Cocklyn's old Ship; for they had not quite fitted mine for their use, not having at that time any Guns mounted; so I saw the great sear and consusion that was amongst them. My Mate, who had entered with them, said, "He believed, by the Ship's coming in so boldly, it was the Laun-ceston Man of War of forty Guns, whom we had left in Holland. For he had heard me say, she was to follow us to the Coast of Guinea."

Happy would it have been for us and many more, if it had been so. For had S 2 that,

that, or even a smaller Ship of twenty Guns, with the King's Commission, come in at that time, or any other, whilft I was in their hands, I am perfuaded they would have eafily destroyed them. For the new-entered-men had little Courage; and the far greater part both of old and new Pirates, were fo much in drink, that there could have been no Order or Conduct amongst them in an Engagement. So that it would have been very easy to have fubdued them, and prevented that terrible Destruction, which happened to above one hundred Sail of Ships, that fell afterwards into their Hands, in their going down the Coast of Guinea: Together with those Damages that happened a good while after in the East Indies, by fome of this Gang; and the great Ravage made by Roberts (who rose out of Davis's Ashes) the second time, on the Coast of Guinea, till he was happily destroyed by Sir Chaloner Ogle in the Swallow Man of War. But the reason why no timely care was taken to prevent fo great a De-Aruction, is not proper for me to mention in this place. As

As I had no business to be on board the Pirate Ship in time of Action, I asked Captain Cocklyn's leave to go on board their Tender, which he readily granted. Just as I was going, several of my People who had entered with him, faid, " They would go along with me, for " they had never feen a Gun fired in an-" ger." Cocklyn hearing that, told them, " That now they should learn to smell "Gunpowder, and caned them hear-" tily.

So I went on board Captain Elliot, where I foon faw the French Ship taken. For coming so unexpectedly into the Pirates hands, they made no Resistance: And because the Captain did not strike on their first firing, they put a Rope about his Neck, and hoisted him up and down several times to the Main-yard-arm, till he was almost dead. Captain Le Boofe coming at that instant, luckily saved his Life: And highly refenting this their cruel usage to his Countryman, he protested, " he would remain no longer in " Partnership with such barbarous Vil"lains." So, to pacify him, they lest the Frenchmen with the Ship in his care; and after the Cargoe was destroyed, they cut the Ship's Masts by the board, and run her on Shore, for she was very old,

and not fit for their purpose.

After the affair of the French Ship was over, I was employed for feveral days, in landing out of the Brigantine the Goods that had been given me, out of my own Ship's Cargoe, and carrying them to my Friend Captain Glynn's House; in which both he and I worked very hard. For my own People that did not enter with the Pirates, were mostly obliged to work on board the Prize, in fitting her for them; and the Natives who served Captain Glynn at his House, were grown so insolent by the large quantity of Goods given them by the Pirates, that they would do nothing but what they pleased, However, at last, with much trouble we got them housed.

By this time, which was about the 20th of April, the Ship they had taken from me was compleatly fitted, and the

next day was appointed to name her, to which Ceremony I was invited. When I came on board, the Pirate Captains told me, "It was not out of Difrespect they "had sent for me, but to partake of the "good Cheer provided on this occasion:" So they desired I would be chearful, and go with them into the great Cabin. When I came there, Bumpers of Punch were put into our Hands, and on Captain Cocklyn's saying aloud, God bless the Windham Galley, we drank our Liquor, broke the Glasses, and the Guns fired.

The Ship being Galley-built, with only two flush Decks, the Cover of the Scuttle of the Powder-room was in the great Cabin, and happened at that time to be open. One of the aftermost Guns blowing at the Touch-hole, set fire to some Cartouch-boxes, that had Cartridges in them for small Arms, the Shot and Fire of which slew about us, and made a great smother. When it was over, Captain Davis observed, there had been great Danger to us from the Scuttle's being open; there being under, in a Room, above

above twenty thousand weight of Gunpowder. Cocklyn replied, "He wished "it had taken fire, for it would have "been a noble blast, to have gone to "Hell with.

Then all going upon Deck, three Prizes that remained undestroyed, were ordered to be burned; upon hearing that, I privately represented to Captain Davis, " How hard it would be upon us who were Prisoners, to remain in that Counc try, without Necessaries, and without " Food to subsist on: Besides, there was " no manner of Prospect of our getting " away quickly: That to the many Obli-" gations I owed him, I hoped he would " add one more, and, by his Interest, at e least save one of the Vessels, for us " to return to England in: That as he " had feveral times hinted to me, how ec much he disliked that course of Life, « hoping he should have an opportunity " of leaving it in a short time; so I wished " he would put it in my power, to reof port to his Advantage, the good deed I then requested of him; for, in my « Opinion, " Opinion, next to Murder and Cruelty,

" too often practifed by Pirates, nothing

" could make them more odious to the

"World, than their destroying, out of

" mere Wantonness, so many Ships and

" Cargoes, as had been done by Cocklyn and

" Le Boose's Crews; in which I knew he

" had no hand: And if he would be pleased

" to procure my entire Liberty, at the

" fame time that he pleaded for one of

" the Vessels for us, it would be a double

" Obligation on me to Gratitude, in case

" it ever fell in my power to serve him."

This he readily promised, and by his Management the Ships were saved from being burned, and they made a Bonsire only of the old Rising Sun, being the Ship they had quitted for mine: And now obtaining, through Captain Davis's means, my intire Liberty, I went on Shore to my friend Captain Glynn's House again.

Two days after this Captain Elliot sent his Boat for me, desiring I would forthwith come on board his Ship, because he wanted very much to speak with me. I had too many obligations to this Gentle-

man to refuse going, (tho' I had a fort of an aversion.) Upon coming on board, he privately represented to me, " That I knew he had been obliged against his " will by the Pirates, to receive into his " Ship a great quantity of other People's "Goods; for which he might hereafter " be called to an account; therefore he defired I would give him a Certificate, " testifying the Truth of it." Knowing this to be true, I readily complied; for he was a very honest Man, as appeared foon after. For the Pirates compelling him to go out of the River with them, as their Tender, he took the first opportunity of getting from them, which he did in a Tornado, or sudden Gust of Wind, that arose in the Night; and having the good fortune to succeed in his attempt, he made a good Voyage for his Owners, with Slaves to Barbadoes; where he fell fick and died.

While I was in his Ship, the three Pirate Captains called along the fide. Not expecting to fee me there, they feemed very glad of it, and invited me to go and fup

This I declined, being desirous of going on Shore to Captain Glynn's. But Captain Davis insisting on it, I thought it prudent to comply; that I might not lose that Gentleman's Good-will, who had been so kind to me.

After we had been some time on board his Ship, Supper was brought up about eight a clock in the Evening; and the Musick was ordered to play, amongst which was a Trumpeter, that had been forced to enter out of one of the Prizes. About the middle of Supper, we heard upon Deck an outcry of Fire, and instantly a Person came to us, and said, "The Main-hatch-way was all in a "Flame;" so we all went upon Deck.

At that time, besides the Pirates Ship's Crew, who were mostly drunk, there was on board at least sifty Prisoners; and several Boats along the side, into which many People jumped, and put off. I being then on the Quarter-deck, with the Captains, observed this to them; but they all in consusion said, "We know not

" not what to do in the matter:" Upon that I told them, " If the fober People " were allowed to go away with the "Boats, no one would endeavour to fave the Ship; and we that were left should " be loft, (for the other Ships were above " a Mile from us, and the Tide of Flood " then run fo strong, that their Boats could " not row against it to save us:) So I proposed to them, " to fire the Quarter-" deck Guns at the Boats that had just put " off, to oblige them to come on board " again;" which being instantly done, it fo frightned the People in them, that they forthwith came back; and all that were able, and not drunk, lent their helping hand to put out the Fire; which by this time was come to a great head in the Ship's hold.

After this I went down into the Steerage, where I saw one Goulding, who was Gunner's Mate, and a brisk active Fellow, put his head up the After-hatchway, calling for Blankets and Water; which if not brought immediately, (he said) the Bulk-head of the Powder-

" room would be fired, and the Ship foon " blown up." Observing the Stupidity of the People about me, who stood looking on one another, I caught up several Blankets and Rugs which lay scattered about, and flung them to him, and fo did others by my example. Then I run out of the Steerage upon Deck, where meeting with some People that were sober, I got them to go over the fide, and draw up Buckets of Water; And others handing them to Goulding, who had by this time placed the Blankets and Rugs against the Bulk-head of the Powder-Room, heflung this Water on them, and thereby prevented the Flames from catching the Powder, and consequently from blowing up the Ship, which must otherwife have happened: For there was then on board at least thirty thousand pounds of Gunpowder, which had been taken out of several Prizes, it being a Commodity much in request amongst the Negroes.

There was still great Confusion amongst us, occasioned by the darkness of the Night,

Night, and the many drunken People, who were not sensible of the great Danger we were in: Moreover, the People in the Hold gave us as yet no Hopes of their getting the Mastery of the Fire. So I went again on the Quarter-deck, and confidered with my felf, if the fire could not be conquered, as I could not fwim, I should have no chance of being faved: and even those that could, would, I knew, be exposed to be torn to pieces by voracious Sharks, which abound in that River: So I took one of the Quarter-deck Gratings, and lowered it by a Rope over the Ship's-side, designing to get on that, if I should be forced to quit the Ship. For tho' the Boats had been once obliged to come back, yet it being a dark Night, some People, unperceived, had slipped again away with them, and were quite gone away.

Whilst I stood musing with my self on the Quarter-deck, I heard a loud shout upon the Main-deck, with a Huzza, "For a brave blast to go to Hell with," which was repeated several times. This

not only much surprized me, but also many of the new entered Pirates; who were struck with a Pannick Fright, believing the Ship was just blowing up; so that several of them came running on the Quarter-deck, and accidentally threw me down, it being very dark. As foon as I got upon my Legs again, I heard these poor wretches fay, in a lamentable Voice, one to another; " Oh! that we could be " so foolish as to enter into this vile course " of Life! The Ship will be immediately " blown up, and we shall suffer for our " Villanies in Hell Fire." So that when the old harden'd Rogues on the Maindeck, wish'd for a blast to go to Hell with, the other poor wretches were at the same time under the greatest Consternation at the thoughts of it.

The Apprehension of the Ship's being just ready to blow up, was so universal, that above fifty People got on the Bolt-sprit, and Sprit-sail-yard, thinking they should have there a better chance for their Lives: But they much deceived themselves, for had so great a quantity of Powder

Powder as was at that time on board, been fired, it would have blown them up to Atoms.

There was one Taylor, Master of this Pirate Ship, as brisk and couragious a Man as ever I saw; (who afterwards commanded the Cassandra, an English East India Ship, and carried her to New Spain, where he and his Crew separated.) This Person, with fifteen more, spared no pains to extinguish the Fire in the Hold; and tho' they were scalded in a fad manner by the Flames, yet they never shrunk till it was conquered; which was not till near ten a clock at night, when they came upon Deck, declaring the Danger was over: So the Surgeons were called to dress their burns. This was joyful News to us all on Deck, for we little expected to escape.

I shall now relate how this Fire happened, from which our Deliverance was almost miraculous. About half an hour after eight a clock in the evening, a Negroe Man went into the Hold, to pump some Rum out of a Cask; and imprudently dently holding his Candle too near the Bung-hole, a Spark fell into the Hogf-head, and fet the Rum on fire. This immediately fired another Cask of the same Liquor, whose Bung had been, through carelessness, left open: And both the Heads of the Hogsheads immediately flying out, with a report equal to that of a small Cannon, the fire run about the Hold. There were twenty Casks of Rum, with as many Barrels of Pitch and Tar, very near the place where the Rum lay that was fired; yet it pleased God none of these took fire, otherwise it would have been impossible for us to escape.

After this was over, I was obliged to stay on board till Morning, all the Boats being run away with. In that time Golding, the Gunner's Mate, told the Pirate's Crew several things to my Advantage: "How I had handed the Blankets" to him, and ordered Water to be thrown on them; which saved the Bulk-head, "where the Powder lay, from being fired, and consequently the Ship from being blown up." So now I was more than

ever in their favour: For several of them desired me to come on board the Windham Galley, the day Things were sold there at the Mast, and then they would be kind to me. Likewise Captain Davis press'd me to come, asking me, "Whe-" ther the Gold Watch that was taken from me was a good one?" To which I answering, "It was very good, at that time." He then said, "He would buy it for his own use at any rate."

While he and I were talking thus, one of the Mates came half drunk, on the Quarter-deck, faying to him; "I pro" pose in behalf of the Ship's Company,

- " that this Man shall be obliged to go
- " down the Coast of Guinea with us;
- " for I am told we cannot have a better
- "Pilot." This was a great furprize to me; but my generous Friend Davis foor put me out of pain. For he told him,
- fill infifting on my going, Captain Davis caned him off the Quarter-deck, and I heard no more of it: For foon after I went on Shore to my Friend Captain Glynn's

Two

House.

Two days after this, a small Vessel came into the River, and was taken by them: It was called the Dispatch Captain Wilson, belonging to the Royal African Company. Mr. Simon Jones, formerly my first Mate, who had entered with the Pirates, (as I have before related) told them, on this occasion, "That he had " once commanded a Ship, which was " hired and freighted by the African " Company; and that he had been very " unjustly used by them; so he defired " the Dispatch might be burned, that he " might be revenged of them." This being immediately confented to, and forthwith ordered to be executed, one John Stubbs, a witty brifk fellow, flood up, and defired to be heard first; saying, Pray, Gentlemen, hold a little, and I " will prove to you, if this Ship is burnt, of you will thereby greatly ferve the Com-" pany's Interest." This drawing every one's attention, they bid him go on: Then he faid, "The Vessel has been out " these two years on her Voyage, being " old and crazy, and almost eaten to " pieces

" pieces by the Worms; besides, her "Stores are worth little; and as to her " Cargoe, it confifts only of a little Redwood and Melegette-pepper; so if she " should be burned, the Company will " lose little; but the poor People that " now belong to her, and have been fo " long a Voyage, will lose all their Wa-" ges, which, I am fure, is three times " the Value of the Vessel, and of her " trifling Cargoe; fo that the Company " will be highly obliged to you for de-" stroying her." The rest of the Crew being convinced by these Reasons, the Veffel was spared, and delivered again to Captain Wilson and his People, who afterwards came fafe to England in it.

The 29th of April, such of the Pirates as were my Friends, sent me word on Shore, "That the Sale of Necessaries "was to begin that day in the afternoon, in the Windham-Galley, Captain Cock- byn." So I went on board in a large Cannoe, belonging to two Men that lived ashore, who went at the same time with me. At the Sale, several of the Pirates bought

bought many Necessaries that had been mine, and gave them to me. Likewise, Mr. James Griffin, my Schoolfellow, was so civil as to beg from those that were not so kind to me, as he hoped they would have been. The two white Men that went with me in the Cannoe, minded their own business so well, that they got several great Bundles of Clothes and Goods, which they put into the Cannoe with mine.

By this time feveral Pirates being half drunk with Brandy, looked over the fide, and seeing so many Bundles in the Cannoe, which they supposed to be all mine, they fwore, "I was infatiable, and that it " would be a good deed to throw them " overboard." This my kind Schoolfellow hearing, he came and told me of it; advising me, to go immediately on Shore; which I accordingly did; and it proved very happy for me. For foon after my Watch was put up to sale, and many bidding for it, some of them out of Spite to Captain Davis, it was run up to one hundred Pounds, which he paid One of the Pirates being greatly down.

vexed at it, said, "He believed the "Cases of the Watch were not good "Gold;" and calling for a Touch-stone, he tried them on it. The Touch looking of a copperish Colour, (as indeed all Gold-cases of Watches do on the touch, by reason of the quantity of Alloy put in to harden them) this pretence served the turn of this Villain; who thereupon exclaimed against me, saying, "I was a "greater Rogue than any of them, who openly professed Piracy; since I was so sly, as to bring a base Metal Watch, and "endeavour to put it off for a gold one."

This Speech procured me the Anger of many, who knew no better; they believing every word of what he faid to be true. And tho' Captain Davis laugh'd at it, yet feveral fwore, " If I had not been gone on Shore, they would have whip- ped me: And as their Drunkenness increased, they talked of sending for me to be punished for so great a Villany, as they called it. But my Schoolfellow apprehending they would really offer me some Violence, was so kind as to send me word

word of what had pass'd, by a white Man living on Shore, who was then on board; advising me to go into the Woods, for they should fail quickly out of the River.

The next morning early, which was the last day of April, as I was just going to follow his advice, I was agreeably furprized with the arrival of one Mr. James Bleau, my Surgeon, whom they defigned to take by force with them. This honest Man had been very much cast down at it, and had often defired me to intercede for his liberty. Accordingly I had done it, representing, " That he grieved himself " fo much, that if he did not die quickly, of yet he would be of no use to them:" But this had no effect. However, at last, a fortunate accident cleared him, when he least expected it; for that very evening, after I was come on Shore, the Surgeon of the French Ship entered with them; whereupon they gave Mr. Bleau his Liberty the next morning.

Mr. Bleau brought us the agreeable News, that the three Pirate Ships, with their Tender, were under fail, going out

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of the River. This gave us all on Shore the highest Satisfaction; for I had been then in their hands a Month, and many others much longer. Mr. Bleau, whom I have here mentioned, lives now at Woodford-Row on Epping-Forest, where he follows his Business.

I shall now inform the Reader, what became of my kind Schoolsellow Grissin, and my generous Friend Davis. The first took an opportunity of getting out of the hands of the Pirates, by taking away a Boat from the Stern of the Ship he was in, when off the Road of Annamaboe, on the Coast of Guinea. He was driven on Shore there, unperceived in the night time; and from thence went to Cape Coast Castle, belonging to the Royal African Company; from which place he went Passenger to Barbadoes, in an English Ship, where he was taken with a violent Fever and died.

As to Davis, having discovered, a few days after they left the River Sierraleon, a Conspiracy, to deprive him of his Command, which was carried on by one Tay-

lor, that was Master of the Ship under him, he timely prevented it: But he and some others left their Ship, and went on board the Windam Galley, Captain Cocklyn, by whom he found Taylor had been set on to displace him. This causing him to leave their Partnership, he took a few days after one Captain Plumb in the Princels of London, whose second Mate Roberts, so famous afterwards for his Villanies, entered with him; and Davis's Crew, after plundering the Ship, restored her to Captain Plumb again. After this, Captain Davis went for the Island Princess, belonging to the Portuguese, which lies in the Bay of Guinea. Here the Pirates gave out, "They were a King's " Ship;" but the People soon discovered what they were by their lavishness, in purchasing fresh Provisions with Goods; but the Governour winked at it, on account of the great Gains he, and others of the chief of his People made by them. But at last some putting him in mind, That if this Affair should come to the "King of Portugal's ear, it might prove

"his ruin;" he plotted how to destroy Davis and his Crew, in order to colour over what he had so basely permitted, in allowing them a free trade, after discover-

ing they were Pirates.

Captain Davis being one day on Shore with the Governor, he told him, "They " designed to sail from the Island in three " days, and that he would come, and take his leave of him the day before." Accordingly he went on a Sunday morning, taking with him his first Surgeon, the Trumpeter, and some others, besides the Boat's Crew. At their coming into the Governor's House, they saw no body to receive them; fo they went on, till they came into a long Gallery fronting the Street. Here the Governor's Major Domo presently came to them, saying, "His Master was at his Country-House, but " he had fent a Messenger to him, when they faw Captain Davis coming on "Shore; and no doubt he would foon " be in Town." But the Surgeon obferving, that many People had got together in the Street, with Arms in their hands,

hands, he faid to his Captain, " I am " fure we shall see no Governor to day," and advised him immediately to go away. So Davis and the Surgeon went out of the House; whereupon the Major-Domo called to the People in the Street, to fire at them. The Surgeon and two more were kill'd on the Spot, and the Trumpeter was wounded in the Arm, who feeing two Capuchin Friers (from whom I had this Account at the Island Princess) fled to them. One of them took him in his Arms to fave him, but a Portuguese came, and shot him dead without any regard to the Frier's Protection. Captain Davis, tho' he had four Shots in divers parts of his Body, yet continued running towards the Boat: But being closely purfued, a fifth Shot made him fall, and the Portuguese being amazed at his great Strength and Courage, cut his Throat, that they might be fure of him.

The Boat's Crew hearing the firing, put off in good time at some distance from the Shore; and seeing the Portuguese advancing to fire at them, they rowed

on board their Ship; where relating what had happened, as they supposed, to their Captain, and to the rest lest on Shore, it set the Pirates all in a slame; and they directly chose Roberts for their Commander, vowing a severe revenge on the Portuguese.

The Water was so shallow, that they could not get their Ship near the Town; so they prepared a Rast, on which they mounted several pieces of Cannon, with which they fired at the place: But the Inhabitants having quitted it, and all the Houses being of Timber, they did little damage to the Town. Neither durst they land to burn the Place, for sear of the great Number of People, whom they perceived in the Bushes with small Arms: So, they returned to their Ship, and the next day sailed out of the Harbour.

Thus fell Captain Davis, who (allowing for the Course of Life he had been unhappily engaged in) was a most generous humane Person. And thus Roberts arose, who proved the reverse of him, and did afterwards a great deal of mischief in the West Indies, and on the

Coast

Coast of Guinea; till he and his Crew were happily suppress'd by Sir Chaloner Ogle, in the Swallow Man of War, and in the Engagement, Roberts, and several of his People were killed. But as there is An Account of the Pirates published, in which the principal Actions of Roberts are related, I shall say nothing more of him here; but go on to relate what is not mentioned in the aforesaid Book.

As foon as it was commonly known, that the Pirates were failed from Sierraleon, Captain Bennet and Thompson, with several others that had been obliged to keep in the Woods, as I have formerly related, came to Captain Glynn's House. There we all confulted about preparing the Bristol Snow, which the Pirates had spared at my Intreaty, fo as to make it fit for us to return to England in. There was with us one Captain David Creichton, in the Elizabeth of London, laden with dying Wood; whom the Pirates had taken not long before me. Him they plundered, and would have destroyed, but by the Interest of Mr. James Griffin, who had been chief Mate

Mate with the Captain's Brother, the Ship was spared. In this Ship Captain Creichton took as many People as he posfibly could, in order to spare our Provifions, and failed a few days after the Pirates left the River Sierraleon, for London: We that were left behind, fent notice by him to our Owners of the great Misfortunes that had befallen us.

Then applying our felves to fit the Bristol-Snow, whom a worthy Person, one Captain John Morris, commanded, we found we should be in very great want of Provisions, confidering how many poor People defired to go home with us. Upon that Captain Glynn fent a small Sloop belonging to him, to fetch Provisions from the River Sherberow, where the destroying Pirates had not been. From thence the returned in a few days, with a good quantity; and one Captain Nisbet having found under his Ship's Ballast in the Hold, feveral Casks of Beef; which had not come to the knowledge of the Pirates (otherwise it would no doubt have been destroyed, as most part of his Cargoe was)

he

he was so kind as to spare me as much of this Beef as he possibly could; and I drew a Bill on my Owner for the value of it.

Moreover, we found in the French Ship that had been taken, and afterwards run on Shore by the Pirates, a large quantity of good Biscuit, so that now we were sufficiently provided in all respects.

Lastly, knowing that large quantities of Goods had been given by the Pirates, to all the white Men residing on Shore upon their own accounts, we all went in a Body to demand them. Messieurs Mead and Pearce, who were in Partnership, very readily and honourably delivered up all they were possessed of: But others did not follow their Example; for they only shewed us what Goods they thought proper, of which I allowed them one third part for salvage.

So I shipp'd what I had recovered from them, with the other Goods the Pirates had given me formerly out of Captain Morris's Vessel; and then we embarked in her, being above sixty Passengers, besides six Masters of Ships, whose Vessels had been destroyed, destroyed, or fitted for the use of the Pirates. We left the River Sierraleon the 10th day of May, and, after a tedious Paffage, occasioned by the Ship's bad failing, we came safe to Bristol, the first of Au-

gust 1719.

On my landing at the Key, Mr. Cafamajor, Merchant of that City, came to me, and delivered me a Letter from my Owner, the late Humphrey Morrice Efq; who had received mine by Captain Creichton, with the account of my Misfortune, a few days before we arrived at Bristol. Mr. Morrice, in his Letter, was pleased to comfort me under so severe a Trial, as I had undergone, affuring me, " He would immediately " give me the Command of another Ship; " (which accordingly he most generously " did foon after) and that he had ordered Mr. Casamajor, his Correspondent, to " fupply me with Money, to distribute " amongst my poor Sailors, who had re-" turned with me to Briftol; in order to " enable them to go to their several Ha-" bitations," which was in feveral Parts of England.

Laus DEO.

